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EDUCATION AND CHANGING SOCIAL STRUCTURE IN SIERRA LEONE:

a study of the inter-relationship of education, occupation, migration and social stratification among secondary school leavers in Sierra Leone.

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I hereby declare that this thesis has been composed by myself; and is based on my own original research.

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Acknowledgements.

Like most field research workers, I have three particular debts to acknowledge. Firstly to my university and teachers: without the help and encouragement of my teachers in the Department of Social Anthropology, University of Edinburgh, I should not even have embarked upon this research project, let alone completed it. In particular, I should like to thank the two supervisors of my dissertation, Professor Michael Carter and Dr. Mary Noble, for their patience and tolerance in helping and advising me, particularly when I was not always ready to accept their advice. For the latter reason, however, the usual caveat that the faults in this thesis are my own rather than those of my advisors is particularly appropriate here.

Secondly, I would like to thank the institution which provided financial support for the research project, namely the Social Science Research Council (U.K.). During the three years (1967-70) in which I was engaged full-time on the project, I was supported by a studentship from the S.S.R.C.; which also covered the additional research costs. It is also in order to thank the University of Cape Coast, my present employer, which released me from my teaching duties for one term so that I could complete the final version of this thesis.

Thirdly, and perhaps most importantly, I would like to thank those in Sierra Leone who provided me with the data on which this thesis is based- and particularly the 250 young Sierra Leoneans who submitted to my long, tedious, and often impertinent interviews. This thesis should be dedicated to them. I should also thank their employers, who often had to release them for interview during working hours, and provide office space in which the interviews could be conducted. In addition, they also often allowed access to their personnel records for the purposes of sampling and the collection of additional data.[1] I must also record a debt of gratitude to the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Land, Labour and Mines, both in Freetown, and the Labour Exchanges in Freetown, Kenema and Koidu, all of which also permitted and provided facilities for the collection of documentary information from their records.

1 *A full list of these employers will be found in the text- e,g. see p. 68*

Several other debts of gratitude must also be acknowledged. While in Sierra Leone I was attached as a Visiting Research Student to the Institute of African Studies, Fourah Bay College; and I spent 20 happy months there. I must thank the College and its staff for the hospitality and kindness as well as intellectual help which was extended to me during this period. Though it is difficult to pick out individuals, I would particularly like to thank Mr. J. Hyde, Secretary of the Institute of African Studies, for his administrative supervision, and for many interesting conversations on topics related to my research - Mr. J.A.S. Blair for his hospitality, and for introducing me to some of the practical aspects of conducting field research (indeed without his prompting I might never have got started at all!); and Dr. B. Harrell-Bond, who did much to help me "find my feet" when I first arrived in Sierra Leone. I have taken the liberty in this dissertation of quoting freely from Dr. Harrell-Bond's unpublished thesis, for of all research projects so far conducted in Sierra Leone, it appears to have most in common with what is being attempted here.

I should also like to thank Mr. John Nimmo and his staff at the Social Science Research Centre, University of Edinburgh, for their generous and friendly help in the processing of data for this thesis, and for their willingness to extend such help beyond the normal call of duty. Let me also thank Mrs. R. Connolly, Miss. L. Patterson and Mr. J.A. Godwyll for typing parts of the final version of this thesis - and particularly Miss. Patterson for help with correcting and arranging the final version of the thesis for binding while I was out of the country.

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Much of the material in this thesis has previously been presented as seminar papers at various universities, and has benefited from the subsequent discussion; and some of it has already been published. The three most important of these papers may be mentioned here. Firstly, a paper was presented at the Sierra Leone Symposium, University of Western Ontario (1971), on "Perceptions of social stratification among the sub-elite of Sierra Leone"; and the material in that paper forms the basis of Chapter 11 of this thesis. Secondly, some of the material in Chapters 5 and 6 has already been published in the Africana Research Bulletin (1972), in an article entitled: "Educational assistance, kinship, and the social structure in Sierra Leone". Finally, some of the argument on social mobility found in Chapter 2 has already been put forward in a study of University students in Ghana, entitled: "Some characteristics of the student population in the University of Cape-Coast", published in The Oguaa Educator (The Journal of the Faculty of Education, University of Cape Coast) (1975).

Summary.

This thesis has the double aim of presenting data on the socio-economic position of secondary school leavers in Sierra Leone, and of examining the characteristics of the new system of social stratification which is emerging there. Of particular interest is the extent to which this resembles the stratification systems of Western industrialized societies.

The pattern of recruitmentmmnt to the secondary educated population was first examined. It was shown that a relatively high proportion of this is drawn from the lower socio-economic strata, suggesting a fairly high rate of mobility into the sub-elite; and the importance of the extended family in promoting this was stressed. There is also considerable selectivéty, however, with those of higher socio-economic background having a great advantage in gaining a good education, and hence the best occupational positions.

Occupational selection and adaptation among respondents were examined next. It appeared that many of them, especially males, aspired to the highest rewarded positions in society, irrespective of their socio-economic backgrounds. Because they had to leave school early, however, they could only obtain lower level employment, for example as clerks, teachers and semi-skilled workers. But despite this frustration of their original ambitions, they usually made a satisfactory adjustment on entering the labour market, though this often appeared to depend on the persistence of their beliefs in opportunities for further upward mobility in the future.

Two other indices of the development of classes were examined. Firstly, it was shown that there was some evidence of the social separation of strata in primary relationships, particularly in terms of friendship and marriage, but also in kinship terms. Secondly, at least among the sub-elite, there was some development of class awareness. In sum mary, then, the evidence supports the contention that social classes are emerging in Africa.

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PART 1

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER 1. Introduction: the aims, strategy, and methods of the research project.

This thesis has two main aims. In the first place, it is a descriptive study of young secondary school leavers who were either in employment or actively seeking employment in Sierra Leone during the period of the author's fieldwork there from March 1968 until November 1969.[1] Such people are usually members of what has been called the "sub-elite" (Lloyd, 1966, pp. 12-13), or the "incipient middle class" (Plotnicov, 1970, pp. 275, 292-295). In other words, they are usually teachers, clerks and other bureaucratic employees in middle grade posts, requiring Western education but not up to university standard.

On the whole this appears to have been a neglected area of empirical research in Africa, and particularly in West Africa, for there has been little written on the socio-economic position of either the sub-elite in general or of secondary school leavers in particular. Mention may be made, however, of the research by Callaway on school leavers in Nigeria, with particular reference to the problems of the rising levels of unemployment among them (Callaway, 1963 and 1967). A smaller pilot survey was carried out by Gamble on school leavers in a Provincial town (Kenema) in Sierra Leone (Gamble, 1962); and a much more comprehensive study of secondary school leavers in Sierra Leone was planned, but not carried out (Carter, 1967).[2]

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[1] Details of the selection of the sample will be given later in this chapter.

[2] More work on school leavers has probably been done in East Africa; and a survey of some of this is found in Wallace and Weeks (1970).

Three related areas of research in which more important work has recently been done may be mentioned here. Firstly, in recent years research on the elite has tended to outstrip that on other socio-economic strata; and particular mention may be made of studies of the elite in Nigeria by Smythe and Smythe (1960), Lloyd (1967a), and Plotnicov (1970); and of the elite in Sierra Leone by Porter (1963) and Harrell-Bond (1972). Valuable material on elites in Africa is also found in the introduction and collected articles in The New Elites of Tropical Africa, edited by P.C. Lloyd (1966).

Secondly, there have been a number of studies of "potential elites", comprising students at secondary schools and universities. Of particular interest are the studies by Foster and Clignet of secondary school pupils in Ghana and the Ivory Coast; these studies looked in detail at the socio-economic backgrounds of students, and also at their occupational aspirations - two areas which will also be of interest in the present study (Foster, 1965; Clignet and Foster, 1966). Hence they will be valuable points of comparison. But as Foster and Clignet mainly had respondents who were still attending school, the scope of their studies was more limited than in the present case, which examines the position of secondary-educated respondents who had already left school. The studies of Foster and Clignet, however, also include small sections which follow up the careers of secondary school leavers, though with limited effectiveness.

There have also been many studies of university students

in Africa - they are in effect a captive research population for the academic research worker. They are of particular interest because, as potential members of the elite, information on their socio-economic backgrounds can provide a measure of the rates of social mobility. The classical examples of such studies have been carried out among students at the University of Ghana, by Jahoda in the 1950's, and by Peil and Hurd and Johnson in the 1960's (Jahoda, 1954/55; Peil, 1965; and Hurd and Johnson, 1967). Secondary school, college, and university students have also been of interest as possible trend-setting individuals, e.g. in the fields of marital and family life; and they have been investigated from this point of view by Omari (1963), Little (1966), and Harrell-Bond (1972) among others.

Finally, a number of related studies have been carried out on industrial workers in Africa; and special mention may be made in this context of the works by Elkan (1960) and Grillo (1973) in Uganda, Kapferer (1972) in Zambia, and Peil (1972) in Ghana. This is obviously an area of increasing interest to many research workers. Such studies, particularly those of Peil and Grillo, perhaps have greatest similarity to what is being attempted here, though they are at the same time both wider and narrower in scope than the present study. They are wider because they look at all levels and ages of workers in the organizations in which they are interested, while the present study concentrates only on the younger members of the sub-elite. But they are also narrower in scope, for they tend to concentrate on a single sector of the economy - the industrial sector in

the case of Peil, and Railways in the case of Grillo - while in the present case an attempt has been made to include a fairly full range of the situations in which members of the sub-elite may be employed. The present study is also broad insofar as it attempts to encompass many aspects of the lives of secondary school leavers in Sierra Leone.

Despite these related studies, there appears to have been no direct attempt at a large-scale study of secondary school leavers in any West African society. This is therefore something of a pioneering study in the field; and for this reason it was decided to attempt to cover a wide spectrum of topics on the lives of secondary school leavers rather than to concentrate on only a few. Undoubtedly this has resulted in some loss of depth, detail, and even accuracy, but it is hoped that this may be excused by the "pilot" nature of the survey. Later studies will probably find it profitable to concentrate in depth on more limited areas in the lives of secondary school leavers.

Information, particularly of a quantifiable variety, will be presented in this thesis on various aspects of the lives of secondary school leavers in Sierra Leone. In the second chapter of the thesis, the social and geographical origins of members of the sample will be investigated. The characteristics of respondents and their parents will be compared with other sections of the population of Sierra Leone, to gauge how representative they are of the total population. From the material presented in this chapter it will be possible to assess the extent of mobility into the sub-elite, and also the differential opportunities for such

mobility available to various groups within the population. Thus the pattern of recruitment into the sub-elite may be established.

Chapters 3 and 4 will look at the occupational experience of secondary school leavers in Sierra Leone, with particular reference to the processes by which they enter and adjust to the labour market. An attempt will be made to show how their occupational aspirations must be progressively modified as they gain more experience of the realities of the structure of occupational opportunities, and their own position within it; and factors affecting the evaluation of occupations will be considered. The occupational histories of respondents will be traced in terms of job hunting and acquisition, conditions of employment, occupational satisfactions and dissatisfactions, and future career prospects; and variations in these between different social groups and occupations will also be investigated.

Chapters 5 to 8 will deal with various aspects of the relationships between secondary school leavers and their families, with particular reference to the interdependence of education and kinship. It will be shown how the extended family plays an important part in promoting the education of its younger members, especially through fostering and others forms of mutual assistance, often specifically designed to help children with their education. It will also be suggested that education modifies relationships within the extended family: that, for example, it tends to weaken relationships between socially mobile individuals and their lower status parents. Chapter 8 looks at the character, causes,

and consequences of migration among secondary school leavers; and suggests that it is partly because of such migration that "spiralists"[1] tend to have less frequent interaction with their lower status parents.

Chapters 9 and 10 look at some of the non-kinship relationships of the respondents. Chapter 9 concentrates on their relationships with their best friends and partners of the opposite sex, with particular reference to how these are affected by such structural factors as class and tribe; while Chapter 10 looks at their relationships within various institutional contexts, such as those of schools, religious organizations, and voluntary associations.

Finally, Chapter 11 will examine the respondents' own perceptions of the nature of their own society, and their position within it. This participant's view of society can both act as a useful check on the "objective" observer's model of the sociologist, and add a valuable new subjective dimension to it insofar as it reflects the experiences of actors in the society, and influences their behaviour. Of particular interest will be the extent to which these subjective perceptions of society suggest the emergence of any form of class awareness.

Although the data presented in these chapters may have some relevance for the problems faced by secondary school leavers - such as the frustration of their educational ambitions and the high rate of unemployment among them - it has not been possible

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[1] I.e. individuals who have been geographically mobile at the same time as they are socially mobile. See Watson (1964).

in the thesis to consider these problems in detail. It is hoped, however, that the data presented will be of some interest and even use to youth employment officers, social workers, teachers, and others who are directly concerned with the problems of young people in Sierra Leone.

The second major aim of the thesis is more theoretical. It is hoped to use some of the data collected in the survey of secondary school leavers in examining various theoretical problems raised by changes in the patterns of social stratification in West African societies. With social and economic development in West Africa, there have been important changes in the systems of social stratification; but it is debatable whether this has led to the emergence of class systems similar to those found in Western industrialized societies. It is hoped that the data on secondary school leavers in Sierra Leone will provide evidence which will be of use in this intellectual debate on whether or not classes exist in Africa.

In traditional African societies there were widely differing forms of social stratification. Socio-economic differentiation was found between chiefs and commoners, freemen and slaves, superordinate and subordinate ethnic groups or tribes, and between the general population and various socially excluded occupational castes; but we are particularly interested here in those social divisions which have been referred to as "classes". In some cases we are specifically told that a certain traditional society has no classes. For example, Evans-Pritchard tells us: "The Nuer cannot be said to be stratified into classes. .... There

is little inequality of wealth and no class privilege" (Evans-Pritchard, 1940, pp. 7, 91). And Schapera writes that: "In the small, kin-based communities of Bushman and Bergdama there are no recognised social classes" (Schapera, 1956, p. 62). In other cases, however, writers on traditional African societies refer to the existence of social classes. Sometimes the differentiation between chiefs and their families, on the one hand, and their subjects, on the other, is seen to constitute a primitive class system (Ackah, 1969, p. 1; Holy and Stuchlik, 1968), especially if this difference is reinforced by differences of origin - for example, if the rulers are a relatively recent group of conquerors of an indigenous subject population. Thus Schapera writes of two other South African peoples:

> "In most Bantu tribes there are usually at least two well-defined social classes, often distinguished by name, which we may term 'nobles' and 'commoners' respectively. The former include all people held to be of the same origin by descent as the chief. The remainder are 'commoners', though newly conquered groups and relatively recent immigrants are sometimes classified separately as 'foreigners'" (Schapera, 1956, p. 56).
>
> "Hottentots also have a class system, which however differs from that of the Bantu. They distinguish between 'citizens', who are all Hottentot stock, and 'servants', almost all of whom are Bergdama, Bushmen and other aliens attached to individual households as menial retainers" (Schapera, 1956, p. 61).

Gluckman, however, tells us that: "There was no class snobbery among the Zulu" - one of the Southern Bantu peoples - stressing the need for the chiefs to make themselves freely accessible to their subjects, and to redistribute rather than accumulate wealth (Gluckman, 1940, pp. 44-45). And in talking about the social structure of the Ganda - another society with a highly

institionalised system of centralised government - Fallers refers to its "essential classlessness", particularly because of the lack of development of differentiated class cultures (Fallers, 1964, p. 163). For Fallers, stratification in traditional African societies is primarily a political phenomenon. As he writes:

> "It is perhaps not going too far to assert that the emphasis in African systems of stratification is primarily political. ..... One aspect of this peculiar prominence of the political in African systems of stratification, and perhaps the most important for the purposes of this discussion, is a tendency for economic structures and processes to be overshadowed by - or, perhaps better, contained within - political structures and processes. It would not be unreasonable to hazard the guess that in sub-Saharan Africa the greater part of the exchange of goods and services which take place outside domestic units occur as incidents to the exercise or acknowledgement of authority. ..... throughout the region, at any rate prior to the extension of the money economy in recent times, the predominant tendency has been for political structures to dominate and enclose economic ones and hence for authority to be the principal basis for stratification" (Fallers, 1964b, pp. 119-120).

If this is so, then it is rather different from the situation in Western industrialized societies, where economic relations are believed to have autonomy from, or even priority over, political relations.

Notes and Queries in Anthropology observes that class systems are particularly associated with highly differentiated economies, and often with ethnic heterogeneity (R.A.I., 1951, p. 93). Thus the Fulani emirates of Northern Nigeria, in which the basic division between the Fulani rulers and the various subject tribes is tempered by other political, religious and occupational dimensions of social stratification, have been referred to as class societies.

For example, Nadel writes that "we can speak of the Nupe as a typical class society" (Nadel, 1942, p. 127); and he goes on to show how this stratification is exhibited not only in terms of differential access to political power and wealth, but also in differences in styles of life, value systems and prestige. M.G. Smith, however, though admitting that "on the basis of such consensus as exists we can distinguish, as do the Hausa, three or four social 'classes'", and that "this model has great practical value for the Hausa", has some doubts on the applicability of a simple class model. As he writes: "The limitations of this three- or four-class model are many and various" (Smith, 1959, pp. 249-250). The Interlacustrine Bantu - e.g. the Rwanda, Rundi, and Nyoro - have rather similar systems of ethnic stratification. The Nyoro have been described as having classes (Perlman, 1970); but the Rwanda social strata, because of their greater rigidity and the lack of social mobility between them, have generally been termed castes rather than classes (Maquet, 1970).

It appears, then, that there is great variety in the systems of stratification in traditional African societies; and that, over and above this objective variation, there is little agreement among sociologists and anthropologists on their treatment of even basically similar types of stratification system. The level of stratification in traditional Sierra Leonean societies was probably of an intermediate level - they were neither as egalitarian as the Bushmen or Nuer, nor as highly stratified as the Fulani/Hausa or the Rwanda - and such stratification as existed was probably mainly based on the differentiation between

chiefs and commoners. It seems unlikely, however, that there was a high degree of economic, social or cultural differentiation, though there may have been greater social distance between the chiefs and the people among the Temne, whose chiefs were considered sacred, than among the Mende, whose chiefs were purely secular figures. In both cases there appears to have been considerable fluidity in the political situation, with war chiefs being able to modify the status quo, and secret societies to balance and limit the power of the chiefs, especially among the Mende.

It is not the purpose of the present exercise, however, to describe the traditional systems of stratification, even if this were possible; nor to become involved in a debate on the correct terminology to be used in the analysis of these traditional systems. Of more immediate interest are the new patterns of social stratification which are emerging in West African societies, and especially the extent to which these approximate to class systems. If, by accepting economic determinism, it is assumed that class is the system of social stratification most compatible with industrialized societies, does this mean that economic development in the third world will necessarily lead to the emergence of new class systems? Alternatively, is it possible that these new nations can either preserve some of the posited classlessness of traditional African societies, or move straight to the equally hypothetical classlessness of a socialist state?

Most sociologists agree that important changes are occurring in African systems of social stratification. As Professor Kenneth Little writes in the last chapter of his book on the Mende

of Sierra Leone:

> "It may be said in summary that there are signs of a new social system in Mendeland and the Sierra Leone Protectorate. This system, as a whole, comes from the new values brought by a capitalist money economy and it has its basis in literacy and the opportunities afforded by literacy" (Little, 1951, pp. 271-272).

In this quotation Little puts his finger on the two main factors responsible for the transformation of stratification systems in West Africa, namely changes in the economies and occupational structures, and changes in the educational systems.

Of these two factors, priority should probably be given to the first. As a result of political developments, there has emerged a new, bureaucratically organised occupational structure, within which occupations are finely graded in terms of power, material rewards and prestige. Higher officials not only command larger salaries than lower ones, but also have access to many subtle privileges, such as car loans and allowances, subsidised housing, and various other prestigeful social amenities, which are either denied to their juniors, or provided for them on a separate and inferior basis. At least in West Africa, one recognises a member of the "senior service" by the fact that he drives a car. Thus the bureaucratic hierarchy permeates not only the occupational sphere, but also all aspects of urban life in West Africa.[1]

Sociological writers have not found it difficult to grade the various occupations found in West Africa according to their social status (Little, 1965, pp. 138-141; Lloyd, 1966, pp 7-12; Ackah, 1969, pp. 1-7); and a pattern consisting of five main classes may be conveniently derived. In the upper class are

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[1] For the importance of bureaucratic symbols, see Tiger (1967).

included top government officials, including politicians, administrators and military men, depending on who holds power, as well as senior members of the judiciary. Traditional rulers - such as the Asantehene in Kumasi and the Ga Mantse in Accra - and members of old established families - for example, some of the Creole families in Sierra Leone, or the old coastal families in Ghana - may also qualify for inclusion by descent, as well as education, occupation and wealth. Some of the richest businessmen and contractors are at least marginal members of this class, especially if educated and belonging to an old family (Lloyd, 1966, pp. 12-13).

The next group - also part of what is usually called the elite - may be termed the upper middle class: it includes those administrative grade civil servants not classified as upper class; independent businessmen and business managers; professional people, such as lawyers, doctors, engineers, and the higher clergy; university professors and lecturers; and the principals and headmasters of secondary schools and training colleges. Traditionally it was only people from these two upper classes who were eligible for the coveted status privileges of car loan and car allowance; but recently, in the more prosperous countries, this dividing line has begun to move downwards.

The third class may be called the lower middle class, or, as some writers have preferred, the "sub-elite" (Lloyd, 1966, pp. 12-13) or the "incipient middle class" (Plotnicov, 1970, pp. 275, 292-295). In it are found the various grades of white collar workers who are subordinate to those in the upper middle class,

such as executive and clerical workers in government and commerce, supervisors, teachers and nurses, as well as technicians and the most skilled of manual workers. In the fourth class may be included the less well paid clerks and shop assistants - especially those working for the smaller Lebanese, Indian and African firms - most skilled and semi-skilled manual workers, drivers, and other ranks of the police and army. In the final class - the lower working class - are placed the various categories of unskilled workers, such as labourers, messengers, watchmen, stewards and petty traders. It should be noted that the majority of the working population - the farmers - have not been included in this classification, for it is believed that the class system will first emerge in the urban areas. The farmers are seen to stand outside the class system proper - in a separate "situs", to borrow Hatt's term (Hatt, 1950) - but are roughly parallel to the lower sections of it; and most farmers together with the urban proletariat make up the broad base of the pyramidal social structure.[1]

Of course it is not only sociologists who recognise this grading of occupations. It is assumed that the populations of African countries also recognise a similar class hierarchy, though their models may be less explicit and rigorous than those of the sociologists. Indeed the sociologists' models are partly based

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[1] It may also be noted that pay differentials in developing countries tend to be much larger than in industrialized societies. Thus in Sierra Leone during the late 1960's, a university professor earned about Le500 (£250) per month, a lecturer about Le200, and a graduate teacher about Le160, compared with monthly salaries of Le36 for a non-graduate teacher or clerical worker, a similar amount for a skilled artisan, Le30 for a driver and Le18 for an unskilled labourer.

on studies of the occupational grading of occupations among Africans themselves. Thus studies of African school children have shown a clear and realistic perception among them of the relative ranking of various jobs in the occupational structure (e.g. Mitchell and Epstein, 1959; Foster, 1965, pp. 268-275). So it seems likely that in Africa occupational status is becoming an important determinant of social status generally; and, if this is so, then it seems likely that systems of social stratification in Africa are becoming more like the class systems of industrialized societies.

Education is also important for social status in Africa, perhaps for two main reasons. In the first place, education tends to be a necessary qualification for securing a well-rewarded occupational position in the modern sector of the economy, especially in view of the predominance of bureaucratic norms of recruitment in most large organizations, and the scarcity of alternative occupational opportunities, for example in small-scale businesses (Lloyd, 1966, p. 7-10; Foster, 1965, pp. 196, 246-248, 255-257). As Cligent and Foster write:

> "At present a few years of primary education or even completion of the primary school programme does not greatly enhance an individual's occupational opportunities, but completion of some form of secondary education provides access to the middle-echelon posts and enables a limited number of individuals to scale the highest rungs of the educational ladder. The crucial importance of secondary schools lies, therefore, in their dual function as both terminal institutions and feeders to higher education, and we are justified in regarding post-primary students as constituting a potential elite in most of the new African states" (Clignet and Foster, 1966, pp. 14-15).

A second reason why Western education is important for social status is that it is mainly through such education that individuals acquire the "civilised" values and standards necessary for membership of the new elite. For example, for an individual to mix freely in civilised society it is necessary that he should be able to read and write at least one European language - usually either English or French - and such knowledge is usually acquired in school. This basic knowledge of a European language is a prerequisite for learning more about the Western way of life generally, and such knowledge in turn is a condition for acceptance in the more sophisticated "classes" in society. As Fraenkal writes of Monrovia:

> "Mobility from the tribal into the civilized section of the population depends primarily on education. Now, most young people - or at least young men, whatever their background, would like an education to high school level at least, ... for education, though not a guarantee of civilized status, is a prerequisite for upward mobility into the civilized class" (Fraenkal, 1964, p. 214).

Some writers have confidently referred to such divisions as "social classes". Thus Ackah writes:

> "It would be difficult or unrealistic to deny that there are social classes in any country which is developed or developing" (Ackah, 1968, p. 1).

Kwame Nkrumah was also convinced of the importance of classes in Africa, at least in the later stages of his career. He rejects the "fallacy":

> " ..... that there were no classes in Africa, and that the communalism and egalitarianism of traditional African society made any notion of a class struggle out of the question" (Nkrumah, 1970, p. 10).

In fact, he tells us that:

> "Nothing is further from the truth. A fierce class struggle has been raging in Africa. The Evidence is all around us. In essence it is, as in the rest of the world, a struggle between the oppressors and the oppressed" (Nkrumah, 1970, p. 10).

A number of political scientists - e.g. Hodgkin (1956) and Kilson (1958) - have also employed class terminology in analysing the African socio-political scene.

Professional sociologists, however, have generally been more cautious in using class terminology, though they have admitted the existence of "incipient" or "embryonic" class systems, or isolated classes which are not part of an overall class system. Typical of the position of most sociologists and anthropologists are the comments of Forde, Banton, and Tuden and Plotnicov.

> "As compared with Western countries, class divisions among Africans were not on the whole marked. ..... Although 'Western' skills and manners appeared generally to confer or symbolize high status among urban Africans, no close parallels with Western class systems should be assumed or expected" (Forde, 1956, p. 43).

> "The general view among sociologists has been that, although African townsmen recognise differences in the prestige of roles held by their fellows, it would be premature to speak of the existence of social classes" (Banton, 1965, p. 144).

> " ... until further crystallization occurs, we regard social classes in Africa as more potential than actual, more analytical than concrete categories. One group of black Africans has emerged sufficiently, however, to possibly warrant its consideration as an almost fully developed social class - the modern elite" (Tuden and Plotnicov, 1970, p. 21).[1]

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[1] For other similar comments, see Mercier (1966, p. 342); Mitchell and Epstein (1959, pp. 34-36); Plotnicov (1970, p. 269); Goldthorpe (1961, p. 149); Schwab (1961, p. 142); Lloyd (1967b, pp. 13, 306); and Lloyd (1973, pp. 7, 13).

Thus it can be seen that there is a continuing debate on the extent to which classes can be said to exist in Africa; and in this thesis it is hoped to use some of the data collected on secondary school leavers in Sierra Leone as evidence in this debate. First, however, let us look at some of the reasons which have led sociologists and others to deny the existence of classes in Africa.

Arguments against the existence of classes in Africa.

How should one go about establishing the existence or non-existence of classes in Africa? In theory, if there is an acceptable definition of class, the debate on the existence of classes will turn on the extent to which African data conform to this definition. To reach a conclusion, therefore, we would only need a good operational definition of class, and the relevant facts from the society under consideration - if the facts fit the definition, then this society has a class system, but not otherwise.

In practice, however, things are not so easy. Apart from problems over the availability of adequate data, there are a number of difficulties concerning definitions. In the first place, though there has been much written on classes, there is little agreement on a clear and concise definition. And for the present purpose, most definitions are found to be too arbitrary and abstract. Most of the arguments against the existence of classes in Africa do not concern divergences from a highly abstract definition of class, but, as will be seen below, point out

specific differences from stratification patterns in industrialised societies. In examining various definitions of caste, Leach distinguishes between structural and cultural definitions: the structural definition is more abstract, suggesting only that caste is a very rigid system of social stratification which may be found in different parts of the world; while the cultural definition limits the term caste to the peculiar institutional complex found in the Hindu parts of the Indian sub-continent (Leach, 1960, pp. 1-3). Definitions of class may also be divided into structural and cultural types; and it is being suggested that most arguments against the existence of classes in Africa refer implicitly to a cultural rather than a structural definition of class. In other words, sociologists are essentially comparing systems of social stratification in developed - referred to as class systems - and developing societies, and are finding the latter wanting. Or perhaps this can be looked at in another way, in terms of ideal types. In fact the implicit definitions being used are not fully structural or fully cultural - i.e. either totally abstract or totally tied to one concrete situation - but are somewhere in between. They are "ideal type" definitions listing a number of the characteristics of systems of social stratification in Western societies; and are at about the same level of abstraction as Weber's ideal type definition of bureaucracy.

What are the main characteristics which would be included in such an ideal type definition of class? It is possible to pick out six main characteristics.

1. Firstly, and most importantly, <u>class is a system of social stratification based on the cultural ranking of economically differentiated roles</u>. It assumes on the one hand an objective aspect insofar as economic roles are differentiated, and on the other hand a subjective aspect insofar as they are evaluated relative to each other and grouped into ranked classes. In the classical Marxist theory, classes are differentiated according to their relationship to the means of production - the bourgeoisie own the means of production and the proletariat are excluded from such ownership - but for the present purpose wealth, income and occupational level may also be taken to constitute economic differentiation.

2. Secondly, in <u>class societies there should be an intermediate level of social mobility between classes</u>. If there is no mobility, then the system of stratification approximates to caste (at least according to the structural definition), but if the other extreme of "perfect mobility" is approached then the "classes" will lack the relatively permanent, hereditary characteristics which they are expected to possess. Thus class membership is partly asbribed, but in a class system there should also be plenty of room for achievement.

3. Thirdly, <u>classes tend to be differentiated in cultural terms</u>, each class having a distinctive way of life. Not only are they marked off from one another in terms of material possessions, but also of institutional and behavioural patterns, manners, ideas, and so on. The culture of the upper class is usually more highly evaluated than that of

the lower classes, at least according to the ruling ideas of the society. However class societies usually exhibit some degree of basic cultural unity, so that the more refined culture of the upper class and the "degenerate" culture of the lower class may be seen merely as the two ends of a single cultural continuum.

4. Fourthly, there is usually marked social separation between different classes, and it is this aspect which is being emphasised when the term "social class" is being used. Of course members of different classes tend to interact in the economic and political spheres, but socially they tend to be segregated. In particular individuals tend to confine their primary relations, such as those of kinship, friendship and marriage, within their own social class.

5. Fifthly, individuals in class societies tend to identify with members of their own class viz-a-viz members of other classes. On the whole they conceptualise social differentiation within their own society in class terms, and are able to classify themselves and other members of their own society according to class level. There may be much variation in the nature and intensity of class awareness depending on the socio-political situation, but if the objective and subjective conditions imply class conflict, then we can talk about "class consciousness".

6. Sixthly, classes tend to act as corporate groups - i.e. they unite together for common action, particularly in the political sphere. As Marx pointed out, conflicts of interest between occupants of opposed economic roles tend

to be transferred to the political arena. Thus different economic classes may form the recruiting grounds for opposed political parties as in Britain. However this is not always the case.

Thus we now have the six main characteristics associated with class. The first refers to the basis of class (economic differentiation), the second to their mode of recruitment (achievement), while the last four (cultural differentiation, social separation, class awareness and corporate action) suggest that classes form social groups rather than just categories - i.e. in class systems economic differentiation is the basis on which social groups are formed. As this is an ideal type definition we might not expect to find all these characteristics combined even in a specific industrialised society, let alone in developing societies. Presumably sociologists deny the existence of classes in Africa because some of these characteristics are absent. However we will now go on to examine the arguments against the use of class terminology in Africa, and we will find, in fact, that all these characteristics of class have been open to question in one way or another. What then are these arguments against the existence of classes in Africa?

1. Economic differentiation

In the first place it may be argued that as yet only a small proportion of the population of most African countries have entered occupations which are part of the emerging class structure. Or that the extent and rate of increase of economic, and hence social, differentiation is fairly small (McCulloch, 1956, pp. 130, 216). It appears that the main changes in stratification are

occurring within the modern sector of the economy, but as yet only a small minority of the population in most African countries has been absorbed into this. For example, in Sierra Leone 77% of the adult working population are still farmers or fishermen, while in Ghana the equivalent figure is 61%. At present the bureaucratic hierarchy is but a small island raised above a sea of otherwise undifferentiated subsistence farmers. When such a high proportion of the population stand outside the embryonic "class system" it is difficult to think of a class system at all. This is especially so if we are thinking of classes in traditional Marxist terms, for the bulk of the population are peasants rather than proletarians, and, as land is usually held commonly, they have "open access" to their most important factor of production (Lloyd, 1966, pp. 49, 56); Worsley, 1964, p. 163).

Even urban workers may retain rights to land or other property, and they are thus not proletarians in the full sense of the term. For example, Agblemagnon quotes a case in which, because of property ownership, a bureaucratic subordinate is better off than his superior officer, and in which the former even becomes the landlord for the latter (Agblemagnon, 1966, p. 124). The position may also be complicated by the prevalence of occupational pluralism, for, through "moonlighting" or trade, a worker may come to earn much more than would be expected from his position in the occupational hierarchy; and to occupy simultaneously both employed and self-employed statuses. This will discourage the emergence of a self-conscious proletariat, unified in its opposition to an exploiting capitalist class.

An additional reason for the relative lack of social and economic differentiation among Africans - at least in the past - was that even in urban occupations they tended to be confined to intermediate and low status occupations while expatriates occupied most of the higher posts (Forde, 1956, p. 43; Worsley, 1964, pp. 137-139). Of course the effect of this varied from situation to situation, being most marked in the white settler territories of Southern and Central Africa, and possibly also in French West Africa, and least marked in the Protectorates of British West Africa where European immigration was discouraged and many high status posts were held by members of the old established coastal families. In particular an African Bourgeoisie (in the classical Marxist sense) was slow to emerge; industrial and commercial resources were at first mainly in the hands of foreigners - Europeans, Indians and Syrians; and later economic developments tended to be controlled by government corporations rather than individual African entrepreneurs. However in this latter period there was more chance for Africans to rise up within the new occupational hierarchies.

2. Social mobility

The second reason for denying the existence of social classes in Africa is that rates of social mobility into the new elites tend to be much higher than in a conventional class system. Classes in industrialised societies tend to be at least semi-hereditary, but in modernising African societies the rates of social mobility are usually so high that the upper socio-economic strata are made up of people of highly diverse origins (Little, 1951, p. 272; Lloyd, 1966, p. 57). Thus Lloyd found in his

study of the university-educated elite in Ibadan that 2/5 of the sample had illiterate fathers and over 2/3 had illiterate mothers; and Hurd and Johnson found that only a quarter of a sample of students at the University of Ghana in 1964 had fathers who had attended a secondary school or university while 28% had fathers with no Western education (Lloyd, 1967a, p. 135; Hurd and Johnson, 1967, pp. 69-74). As a consequence these social strata will tend to have less social and cultural homogeneity than might be expected in a class system, and individuals in each stratum will tend to have many important social contacts outside it and lack the degree of corporateness found in a class system.

It appears that this high rate of mobility into the elite is reflected in beliefs about the openness of the social structure which again are not characteristic of class systems - at least of the European variety. This can be illustrated by the occupational aspirations of school children. In Britain the average working class child will have much lower occupational aspirations than his middle class counterpart, reflecting his realistic perceptions of a relatively closed system of social stratification. Studies of the occupational aspirations of African school children, on the other hand, indicate that most children aim for jobs of the highest social and economic status, e.g. law, medicine, engineering, etc., irrespective of their own socio-economic background, which suggests that in Africa, unlike Britain, class factors are not seen as barriers to social mobility. Hence both the realities and perceptions of social mobility in

Africa depart from the British class pattern. However especially the belief in an open society bears some resemblance to the American ideology of class (Foster, 1965, pp. 275-290; 301-302).

3. Cultural differentiation

Thirdly, there is as yet no single set of cultural values differentiating classes, and ranking them relative to one another. It appears that traditionally there was little cultural differentiation between strata in Africa (Fallers, 1961, pp. 108-110; 1959, pp. 23-32). Today prestige is often gained by adherence to Western cultural patterns, but even the elite may act on occasions according to the traditional norms of their ancestors (Schwab, 1961, pp. 126-143; Little, 1965, pp. 142-143, 155). As Forde writes, there are "multiple and cross-cutting criteria of prestige, variously derived from the traditional and the new urban contexts, which give both an ambiguity and fluidity to any one aspect of social status" (Forde, 1956, p. 43). These criteria are not so closely correlated as is usual in a class system - thus though education and wealth are both criteria of prestige, the educated man is not necessarily wealthy and the wealthy man is not necessarily educated (McCulloch, 1956, pp. 130, 215).

In fact there appear to be a number of separate value systems, each with its own validity - at least within its own context. Thus an educated person may seek mobility through employment in the bureaucratic sector of the economy, and in this case his prestige would probably be enhanced by adherence to

Christianity and a Western way of life. On the other hand, illiterates, though lacking "civilisation", may achieve high status either by making money or succeeding to traditional office, but their position is confirmed in terms of Muslim or traditional values. The high official, the rich trader, and the Paramount Chief are judged by different standards, appropriate to the bureaucratic, trading and traditional _situses_ respectively, and because of this it is difficult to judge their relative statuses. Thus at the top of the social ladder we find a number of separate elites, one for each _situs_, which do not usually combine, at least in the short run, to form a ruling class (Goldthorpe, 1961, pp. 152-153). And at the lower end of the social scale it is difficult to tell whether a peasant farmer who becomes an urban labourer has been socially mobile or not - he has changed _situs_, but has his social status changed? It seems then that there is no single system of social stratification, but rather a number of parallel systems of social stratification between which comparisons of relative status are difficult. To make matters even more complicated, individuals may alternate between _situses_, or even compete in a number of them simultaneously.

4. _Social separation_

Fourthly, there is a lack of social separation between members of different socio-economic strata. Usually in a class system an individual's primary relationships of kinship, friendship and marriage would be confined within his own class, but this does not seem to be true in the African situation. In traditional African societies corporate lineages cut across incipient lines of socio-economic stratification, thus binding

them together; and a wealthy man confirmed his status by supporting many less well-off relatives and clients rather than by cutting himself off from poorer people as in a class system (Fallers, 1959; 1964).

Even today, as a result of the high rates of social mobility and the strength of extended family ties, many individuals have more kinship relations outside their own socio-economic stratum than within it; and the fact that these relations are maintained suggests that class is unimportant in this context (Schwab, 1961, pp. 142-143; Goldthorpe, 1961, pp. 150-151; Banton, 1965, pp. 144-145; Tuden and Plotnicov, 1970, pp. 21-23; Ackah, 1969, p. 6). Often the better off members of a family provide financial and other help to their poorer relative; and such "family parasitism" not only ties together the members of different socio-economic status, but also reduces the potential differences in their standards of living (McCulloch, 1956, p. 130). Furthermore, because of the relative shortage of educated women, men from the elite often contract marriages with women of lower educational status than themselves (McCulloch, 1956, p. 130). These examples contradict the normal assumption that all members of the family should be of the same social status (Parson, 1964, pp. 75-80; Davies, 1949, p. 364); and therefore some authors have preferred to write of "an elite of individuals rather than a class of families" (Goldthorpe, 1961, p. 155). For a class system to develop under such circumstances, either all members of the family would have to be of the same status, which might result from a drastic reduction in the rate of social mobility;

or the extended family would have to be replaced by the nuclear family. Though there are some tendencies in these directions, neither of the alternatives seems likely to materialise in the near future.

Also in African towns there is not found the residential segregation of classes which is normal in industrialised societies (Banton, 1965, p. 146; McCulloch, 1956, pp. 130, 215). For example, in Freetown, as in many African towns, luxurious modern houses may be found juxtaposed with slum accommodation; and "middle class" landlords build shacks in their back yards for immigrant tenants who include labourers, prostitutes and thieves as well as skilled and white collar workers.

So the various socio-economic strata are held together by numerous cross-cutting ties, which help prevent acute oppositions emerging between them. On the other hand such cross-cutting primary relationships may be lacking between other components of society - e.g. between ethnic groups or tribes, which may then emerge as politically significant corporate groups (Worsley, 1964, pp. 161-162). Such a situation is characteristic of a plural rather than a class society.

5. Class awareness

The fifth reason for denying the existence of classes in Africa is the alleged lack of class consciousness in Africa (Goldthorpe, 1961, p. 149; Lloyd, 1966, pp. 55-60; 1967b, pp. 313-317; Tuden and Plotnicov, 1970, p. 20). In traditional societies the non-existence or relative unimportance of classes is reflected in a lack of class concepts and terminology, as in the Yoruba and Luganda languages (Lloyd, 1967b, p. 314;

Fallers, 1959, p. 23). A number of African intellectuals and politicians have argued that this classlessness survives in modern African societies; and they believe that emphasis on class distinctions would be incompatible with the"African personality" (Lloyd, 1967b, pp. 279-281; Worsley, 1964, pp. 127-130, 164-167). Certainly class consciousness in the classical Marxist sense of a political ideology positing irreconcilable antagonisms between classes and the need for class struggle seems largely absent in modern African states; and this is consistent with the apparent unimportance of class as a determinant of social and political action. It seems that Africans do not see classes as potentially conflicting groups - some writers have noted that even the least privileged sections of the population, rather than resenting the conspicuous consumption of their leaders, tend to identify with and take pride in it (Lloyd, 1966, p. 61; Worsley, 1964, pp. 199-202). The previously mentioned beliefs in the openness of the social structure and the ease of social mobility not only illustrate this relatively classless ideology, but may also contribute to the reduction of antagonisms between socio-economic strata. It seems to be generally believed that the system of social stratification is fair; and young men strive to join the elite rather than to overthrow it. Other factors which also encourage such non-antagonistic views of social stratification are the multiple cross-cutting ties between strata, and the solidarity of all strata in the face of external enemies, such as "imperialists and neo-colonialists". These themes will be developed below.

However some writers even seem to suggest that not only is there a lack of class consciousness in the narrower political sense, but also that there are only the vaguest notions of more generalised class or status awareness. Thus Clement, in one of the few empirical studies of class awareness in Africa, received"extremely confused answers" on social class from a limited sample of 15 evolues in Stanleyville. His conclusions were that of the 15 respondents: "Three seem to have a notion of social class; three have the glimmerings of a notion. All the others: complete inability to distinguish from personal behaviour" (Clement, 1956, pp. 455-456). And this was an educated section of the population. Presumably class awareness would be even less among illiterates. Lloyd, in a preliminary study of class awareness among the Yoruba, also found a minimal degree of class awareness (Lloyd, 1973, pp. 122-123). Thus it is suggested that not only class consciousness of a political variety is absent from African societies, but also that there is even very little class awareness.

6. Corporate activity.

Sixthly, this lack of class consciousness is reflected in the fact that strata in African societies do not usually act as corporate groups, for example in political situations, as they would be expected to do in a class-like situation. Class responses may occasionally arise, but these will tend to be situational rather than a pervading feature of the system. Even if the modern elite does emerge as a political interest group with a common culture, there would appear to be no definite lower class in opposition to it; and from a Marxist point of

view one cannot have an isolated class, but only a set of classes (Lloyd, 1966, p. 60; 1967b, p. 315; Tuden and Plotnicov, 1970, pp. 18-19). As Worsley writes:

> "It is not surprising to find sets of classes 'missing' in this way. For class is, basically, a relationship, not a thing. No class can exist in isolation. Its existence implies the existence of other classes over and against which the class defines itself as a separate entity. There can be no proletariat without a capitalist class; no petty boureoisie except in contrast to an haute bourgeoisie; no'middle strata' without higher and lower strata between which to locate themselves. All classes among the indigenous population, with the single exception of the peasantry are normally extremely small and often only in a state of formation. There does exist in the more advanced of the new countries a more numerous and long-established proletariat, often a numerous petty trading bourgeoisie, a land owning class, and sometimes some large capitalists. Even so, all these classes are unified by common opposition to foreign imperialism and race-oppression in a way that creates bonds between them that are absent in Western capitalisms. Colour is the index of this common inferiority which unites Africans and Asians not only across class-lines within their own states, but also across international, cultural, and geographical boundaries. These classes exist, then, not in a closed society where each faces primarily each other, but in a social system whose past was determined by alien rulers and whose present is still crucially affected by private foreign ownership of the commanding heights of the economy. The class relations which are significant are global, not national" (Worsley, 1964, pp. 163-164).

Worsley is referring back here to Lenin's distinction between bourgeois or capitalist nations and proletarian nations, and is suggesting that the acute conflict between such nations makes irrelevant the divisions within them. Thus in Africa, indigenous entrepreneurs - both large and small - proletarians and peasants will be united in their common opposition to "imperialists and neo-colonialists" This is of course particularly obvious in those states where there is a large European or Asian population - then

the dominant cleavage between races can be seen to overshadow that between potential classes (Worsley, 1964, pp. 130-164; Mercier, 1966, pp. 347-351; Mitchell and Epstein, 1959, pp. 34-36; Schwab, 1961, pp. 142-143; Goldthorpe, 1961, p. 149; Tuden and Plotnicov, 1970, p. 19).

This alleged homogeneity of African societies has had a number of political consequences, of which I will mention two. Firstly, though most African governments profess themselves to be socialist, they have made little effort to redistribute either resources through nationalisation, or income through progressive taxation. It is true that governments generally prefer large projects to be under state control and have nationalised a number of expatriate companies, but they have not extended this policy to indigenous firms, perhaps because of their relative insignificance in the economy. As Norman Manley, a past Prime Minister of Jamaica, put it: "You cannot nationalise nothing" (Quoted in Worsley, 1964, p. 116). In most new nations the priority is for expansion rather than redistribution of resources - i.e. the first aim is to increase the total size of the national cake rather than to divide it up more equitably - and hence class conflict is muted.

The second point is that successive governments - be they colonial, one party, or military - have argued that as there are no "legitimate" conflicts of interest within African society, their role is simply to administer society for the good of all, and there is no need for opposition from (divisive) political parties claiming to represent (non-existent) sectional interests.

Thus their monolithic (and undemocratic?) forms of government are justified in terms of the essential homogeneity of society, and the two overriding aims of political independence and national development (Worsley, 1964, pp. 175-209).

However many of these societies are not as internally homogeneous as the theorists and politicians make out; but the divisions are in terms of tribe rather than class. Particularly in politics, tribal/regional divisions tend to over-shadow those of class (Worsley, 1964, pp. 209-217). Thus in most African societies political parties are based on tribe: for example in pre-1966 Nigeria each of the main tribal/regional groupings - Fulani/Hausa in the North, Yoruba in the West, and Ibo in the East - had its own political party; and similarly in Sierra Leone politics has tended to polarize between Creoles, Mendes and a variable alliance of Northern tribes. It is largely because of the divisive nature of such tribal politics and the ultimate danger of tribal succession - as in Nigeria - that many African governments have attempted to suppress party politics. In contrast, class conflict with its implication of organic solidarity, may even enhance the overall integration of a society. However political parties appealing to class interests have been relatively rare in Africa; and we must conclude that the class struggle has not yet emerged, at least <u>within</u> African societies.

So far six main areas of objection to the use of class terminology in Africa have been outlined. It should be noted that these objections are not isolated or haphazard but are all closely interrelated: for example, the high rate of social mobility

increases the proportion of primary relations between economic strata and discourages the emergence of politically conscious corporate groups; the fact that divisions of race, tribe and status cut across those of socio-economic status also inhibits the development of class consciousness and political classes; lack of class consciousness and absence of political action based on class are obviously closely related; and so on. The objections themselves form a consistent pattern; and it is possible then to go further and argue that the pattern of stratification being described is not one which only differs in small details from the Western pattern, but is a distinctly African system of social stratification.

It is hoped by using the data on secondary school leavers in Sierra Leone to make some contribution to this debate on the existence of classes in Africa. In particular, it is hoped to look at some of the problems concerned with rates of social mobility in Chapters 2 and 4, at some of those concerned with the social separation of classes in Chapters 5 to 10, and at some of those concerned with class awareness in Chapter 11. In the final chapter, the evidence on classes will be summarised; and an attempt will be made to put forward the case for the positive existence of classes in Africa.

The strategy of the research

As has been mentioned, the thesis has two main aims - it is both a descriptive study of secondary school leavers and a theoretical study of social stratification - and it remains to consider the compatability of these two objectives. In particular,

to what extent can a study of a narrow section of the population - in this case of secondary school leavers - contribute to the understanding of the nature of social stratification in the society as a whole? In the first place, it must be admitted that some compromise was involved; and that a more effective study of social stratification in Sierra Leone would have resulted if data had been collected from a sample more representative of the total population. However, given that for practical reasons[1] such a study was not possible, it may be argued that secondary school leavers provide a particularly useful starting point in the study of social stratification in Sierra Leone. And of course the theoretical aims of the study guided from the beginning the selection of data to be collected in the survey of secondary school leavers. In addition it has been possible at times to supplement this material with information collected from documentary sources on a wider sample of the population of Sierra Leone.

Why should a sub-elite be a particularly interesting best-case in the study of social stratification in West Africa? It has been mentioned above that education is an important factor in the creation of the new system of social stratification, and both the elite and the sub-elite have participated in the educational system. However the elite is small in size and has been subject to such intense social and cultural change that it is divorced in many ways from the rest of the population. Though it has usually been thought of as the trend setting group in society, some writers have pointed out with reference to West

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1 Because of lack of time and financial resources.

Africa that it may be so cut off in terms of experience and resources from the rest of the population that the sub-elite may be a more useful reference group for the masses (Lloyd, 1966, p. 13; 1967b, p. 153). Also from a subjective point of view, the elite may be less likely to become class conscious than the sub-elite: because of their privileged position within society, the elite may tend to deny the importance of distinctions of social class while the sub-elite, whose upward mobility is blocked, may be very much aware of them. In addition, as already pointed out, the elite has been subject to much more study than the sub-elite.

Compared with the elite and the sub-elite, the proletarians and peasants have experienced much less change, and particularly the latter may be still too bound up with their traditional way of life to be thought of in class terms. Even many of the urban proletariat are migrant labourers who are not fully committed to an urban way of life, but intend to return to their villages when they have achieved their economic targets. But members of the sub-elite, like members of the elite, because of the investment involved in their education, tend to be fully committed participants in the new urban structure. It is therefore suggested that the most useful starting point in the study of emergent patterns of social stratification may not be with the extremes - i.e. with the elite on the one hand, or with the proletariat or peasants on the other - but rather with the intermediate stratum or sub-elite; and it is hoped to work outwards from an understanding of the social

position of the sub-elite to an understanding of social stratification in the society as a whole.

The analytical usefulness of the sub-elite is heightened by the very ambiguity of their position within the social structure. Members of the sub-elite tend to aspire to the standards of the elite itself, and are within what Plotnicov calls the "mobility zone" (Plotnicov, 1970, pp. 292-295), but the financial and social gulf separating them from the elite is wide. Their predicament in trying to keep up "civilised" standards without the necessary financial resources is well illustrated by an old "saw" quoted by Nigerian writer Soyinka in his novel The Interpreters: "the hungry clerk dons coat over his narrow belt and who will say his belly is flat?" (Soyinka, 1965, p. 91).[1] Another Nigerian novelist, Achebe, also emphasises the vast gulf between the secondary school leaver of the sub-elite and the university graduate who moves straight into a senior service post:

> A university degree was the philosopher's stone. It transmuted a third class clerk on one hundred and fifty a year into a Senior Civil Servant on five hundred and fifty, with a car and luxuriously furnished quarters at a nominal rent. And the disparity in salary and amenities did not tell even half the story. To occupy a "European Post" was second only to being actually a European. It raised a man from the masses to the elite whose small talk at cocktail parties was: 'How's the car behaving?'"
> (Achebe, 1960, p. 92; quoted in Little, 1965, p. 141).

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[1] Soyinka also explores the pretensions of a poverty stricken member of the sub-elite in his play, The Lion and the Jewel.

A number of sociologists have also remarked that there is a "threshold" in social relationships between the elite and the sub-elite; and they have implied that this results from social discrimination by the elite, who prefer to draw their friends from their own social stratum (Plotnicov, 1970, pp. 290-296; Lloyd, 1966, pp. 38-39; 1967a, pp. 145-147; Jacobson, 1968, pp. 123-138; 1970, pp. 176-183). Again there is sometimes a political dimension to this division between the elite and the sub-elite: for example, the political success of Nkrumah in Ghana has often been attributed to his gaining the support of the school leavers who had been alienated by the policies of the previous political elite composed mainly of university graduates from old-established Ghanaian families. Nkrumah and his colleagues were generally of a lower educational standard and more in touch with the aspirations of the majority of the Ghanaian population (Apter, 1972; Austin, 1964; De Graft Johnson, 1966).

So, though members of the sub-elite may identify with the elite, and even aspire to join it, there are many factors excluding them from full participation in the social and cultural life of the elite, and social mobility into the elite tends to be difficult. This dilemma of identity makes the social and political responses of the sub-elite particularly interesting. David Lockwood, in his study of clerical workers in Britain (Lockwood, 1958), demonstrated clearly how the study of such an intermediate stratum, which may be in an ambiguous or even anomic position, can throw new light on the nature of the class system as a whole;

and it is hoped that consideration of the sub-elite may similarly help in understanding social stratification in Sierra Leone.

The position of members of the sample is complicated in yet another way - the survey was confined to younger members of the sub-elite, many of whom were at a cross-roads in their career. Having come from widely differing social backgrounds, through education they had all more or less reached the same occupational level; but most had ambitions to go further, and in this only some could be successful. They had converged socially, and must again diverge. This period in the life of secondary school leavers is of particular interest, for, as Peil says, the first job is probably the hardest to find, and there is often considerable occupational mobility in the first few years after leaving school (Peil, 1968, pp. 71-72). However this does neglect any occupational mobility later in their careers, and this may be considerable.

Two further methodological advantages of the sample may be mentioned. Firstly the use of this narrow sample meant that age and educational level can be considered as held constant, and hence the number of variables which must be considered in the analysis is reduced. Secondly, because all respondents had attended school, it was possible to conduct all the interviews in English. It was therefore not necessary to learn a Sierra Leonean language or to use an interviewer.

Finally a word must be said on the choice of Sierra Leone as the location of the study. The main reason for this choice was the long-standing research association between the Department of Social Anthropology, University of Edinburgh, and Sierra Leone. The connection was initiated by the early fieldwork of Professor Kenneth Little among the Mende in the 1940's, continued in the Lunsar project under his direction in the 1950's, and at the time I arrived in Sierra Leone in March 1967, there were three social anthropologists from Edinburgh University already engaged in research in various parts of the country. This not only facilitated practical arrangements for living and working in Sierra Leone, but also provided continuity with previous research. I was provided with some preliminary research contacts in Sierra Leone, and was able to benefit from the general goodwill built up by previous research workers from Edinburgh. Also, at all stages in the research, I was able to benefit from the experience of such previous research workers, both through personal discussions and consultation of their theses in the library.

In addition, the small size of Sierra Leone may have facilitated the study. Traditionally in social anthropology it has been argued that it is easier to understand small scale communities; and though this is not strictly speaking an anthropological study, the same argument may be applied here. Sierra Leone is a small country, both in area and population, and

in particular the number of people employed in the modern sector of the economy - the main area of interest here - is extremely small; but apart from this it possesses the characteristics of most other developing societies. This probably makes it a simpler test-case than some of the larger developing countries, and it is certainly easier in such a case to interview a representative cross-section of the population, and to gain an understanding of the society as a whole. In particular in this study it is hoped to preserve the traditional holistic approach of social anthropology, emphasising the interdependence of social institutions, and this is probably most possible in a small-scale society like Sierra Leone. Let us now turn to a closer examination of some of the characteristics of the location of this study - Sierra Leone.

Some basic facts on Sierra Leone and its people

Sierra Leone is a small tropical country in the South-West corner of the West coast of Africa. It is bounded on the North, North-West and North-East by Guinea, on the South-East by Liberia, and on the South-West by the Atlantic Ocean. The total area of Sierra Leone is 27,699 square miles - slightly smaller than Scotland - which makes it one of the smallest countries in Africa. The country is divided into four provinces: the Western Province (sometimes known as the Western Area), which was formerly the Colony, and the Northern, Southern, and Eastern Provinces, which formed the Protectorate of pre-independence times.[1]

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[1] The areas of these Provinces are 215; 13, 875; 7604; and 6005 square miles respectively. All figures, in this section, unless otherwise stated, are drawn for the Sierra Leone Census, 1963.

From J.I. Clarke,

<u>Sierra Leone in Maps</u>,

Map 10, p. 29.

The three last Provinces are further sub-divided, first into 12 districts, and then again into 146 chiefdoms.

The total population of Sierra Leone, according to the 1963 census, was 2,180,355. Thus the average density of population over the whole country is 78 persons per square mile, this being highest in the Western Province (762) and lowest in the North (65). This means that the population density in Sierra Leone is considerably higher than the average of 24 persons per square mile for the African continent as a whole (Clarke, 1966, p. 42). The capital and largest town is Freetown, which is in the Western Area, and in 1963 had a population of 127,915, comprising 5.9% of the total population of Sierra Leone. However the other main towns do not contain a large proportion of the population: only 10% of the population live in the 7 towns (including Freetown) of over 10,000 people, and only 13% live in the 18 towns of over 5,000. In fact most people in Sierra Leone live in small settlements: three quarters (75%) in villages of less than 1,000 people, and two thirds (65%) in villages of less than 500. So, despite the mushroom growth of its capital city, Sierra Leone is still basically rural.

Apart from foreign nationals, the population of Sierra Leone is made up of the Creoles plus about 17 other tribes. Details of the most important of these are summarised in Table 1.1.[1]

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[1] More detailed description of the tribes is to be found in Banton, 1957, especially chapters 6 and 7; and a map showing their geographical distribution in Sierra Leone is to be found in Clarke, 1966, p. 37.

The Creoles, though comprising less than 2% of the total population, predominate in the socio-economic elite. Strictly speaking they are not a tribe in the same sense as the other Sierra Leonean tribes, but are the descendants of various groups of ex-slaves who were liberated in the Freetown area at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries. The first of these settlers (perhaps about 3,000) returned from England and the New World, but the majority (about 74,000) were freed by the British anti-slave trade squadron directly from ships carrying them to America.[1] The Creoles were quick to take advantage of educational and occupational opportunities afforded by Freetown; and were soonddistinguished from the indigenous population not only by their historical and geographical origins, but also by their high level of Western education, and outwardly Westernised way of life. Most Creoles became Christians, but a minority of Yoruba descent - usually referred to as "Aku" or "Oku" - are staunch Muslims. The Creoles came to form an important reference group for the rest of the population (Little, 1951, pp. 262-266). and in the past, because they were a cultural category rather than a natural descent group, it was possible for non-Creoles who acquired their cultural characteristics to "pass" as Creoles. The Creole community thus absorbed many young educated men from the indigenous tribes, perhaps in this way offsetting their own natural decline from low levels of fertility (Banton, 1957, pp. 103-104, 207-208; Porter, 1963, pp. 37, 63-64). Since the last war, however, with the spread of education and the vote to people of the Provinces, the social, political and economic supremacy of

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[1] Detailed history of the Creoles can be found in Fyfe, 1962; Porter, 1963; and Peterson, 1969.

TABLE 1.1. Tribes of Sierra Leone

Name	Percentage of Population	Main Province	Prestige	Representation in sample	
Creole	1.9%	West	Very high	94	37.5%
Temne	29.8%	North	Medium	39	15.5%
Mende	30.9%	South & East	Medium	60	24,0%
Limba	8.4%	North	Low	7	3.0%
Loko	2.9%	North	Low	2	1.0%
Susu	3.1%	North	Low	7	3.0%
Komo	4.8%	East	Medium*	7	3.0%
Kissy	2.3%	East	Low	2	1.0%
Fula	3.1%	Scattered	Low*	8	3.0%
Sherbro	3.4%	South	High	5	2.0%
Koranko	3.7%	North	Very Low	1	0.5%
Mandingo	2.3%	Scattered	Medium	7	3.0%
Yulunka	0.7%	North	Very Low	1	0.5%
Other/ Foreigners	2.7%	Scattered	-	10	4.0%
TOTAL:-	100.00%			250	101.0%

*Tribes with particularly variable evaluation.

the Creoles has been challenged; and "turning Creole" has now become uncommon (Banton, 1956, pp. 360-364; 1957, pp. 175-183).

The Sherbros are another high status group in Sierra Leone, being the coastal tribe with first contact with European "civilisation", and having provided Sierra Leone's first two Prime Ministers. Interestingly enough, they are still famous as practitioners of "Juju".

The Mende and Temne are numerically the most important tribes in Sierra Leone, each comprising about 30% of the total population. The third largest tribe - the Limba - has only 8.4%. Mende dominate the Southern and Eastern Provinces, while Temne are the strongest Northern tribe. These two tribes have medium socio-economic status. The Mende are more advanced in terms of education, for the missionary educators found the pagan South a more fertile field for evangelical activity than the more Islamic North, but the Temne, with characteristic enthusiasm, are now working hard to catch up. Most members of these tribes are still farmers, but others are found distributed at all levels of the urban occupational structure. Because of their large numbers, the Mende and Temne are particularly important politically, and party politics tend to polarise between them, with their smaller neighbours following their lead. Thus the Temne, together with the Limba, Loko and other Northern tribes tend to support the ruling All People's Congress (A.P.C.), while the Sherbro and Kissy gather round the Mende in support of the Opposition Sierra Leone People's Party (S.L.P.P.). The Creoles, however, despite

their small voting power are still a significant political force, for their high level of education ensures them a share of important political and administrative offices, especially when the less educated Northerners are in power.

The most significant low status tribes are the Limba and Loko. Few of them have attended secondary school, and in urban areas they are found in occupations shunned by other tribes, e.g. working as sanitary labourers, palm wine tappers and servants. They tend to be socially isolated. The Koranko and Yulanka live in the most remote parts of Sierra Leone, and have been subject to even fewer modernising influences. Not many have migrated to towns, though the former were at one time popular recruits to the army.

Some tribes have quite variable prestige. For example the Fula (Fulani) have low prestige in the modern occupational hierarchy - few have Western education, and the majority work in low status occupations, e.g. as watchmen and petty traders - but they are highly respected by Muslims for their Islamic fervour. The Kono, though of limited educational attainment, are popularly believed (mainly erroneously) to be very rich because of the diamond fields located in their homeland.

Of course not all members of a tribe share the same status. For example, though the Creoles as a group have high status, it is possible to find low status Creole individuals; and though the Limba usually have low status, the President himself (Siaka Stevens) is a member of this tribe. It is only

being argued that tribes in Sierra Leone can be stratified according to the average socio-economic status of their members; and that a popular stereotype corresponding to this attaches to each tribe.[1] This is most apparent in the towns, where tribal and occupational diversity is greatest. However, with the spread of education, the correlation between education, occupation and tribe is tending to break down; and in time the stereotypes themselves will probably be undermined.

Sierra Leone has long been famous for its educational system, and indeed Freetown was once known as "the Athens of West Africa". The first school was opened for the children of Creole settlers in 1792 - it began with only four children, but by the following year the number had reached 300. Also during the latter year education was extended to the indigenous tribes, with the building of a school on Bullom Shore, opposite Freetown (Sumner, 1963, pp. 4-7).[2] However expansion of educational facilities was at first slow and uneven. By 1828 - 35 years later - there were only 944 children in school. The 1830's saw some acceleration, and the numbers rose to almost 9,000 by the end of the decade; but again stagnation set in and by 1901 there were still under 9,000 children attending school, mostly in Freetown (Sumner, 1963, pp. 50, 144, 152).

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[1] This ranking of tribes is based on general knowledge of Sierra Leone; but objective and subjective indices confirming it will be presented later in the thesis. See especially chapters 2 and 11.

[2] Another source of information of the history of education in Sierra Leone is Harding (1968).

Perhaps more significant than actual numbers for the development of education in Sierra Leone was the founding of institutions of higher learning. In 1845 the first grammar school was established;[1] and by 1901 there were six grammar schools - all in the Colony - with a total of 829 pupils (Sumner, 1963, pp. 63-67, 152). Fourah Bay College was founded in 1827, and was to become one of the first universities in English-speaking West Africa. Many important figures in the development of Nigeria, Ghana and the Gambia as well as Sierra Leone received their education at Fourah Bay, thus establishing Freetown's reputation as the Athens of West Africa.[2]

In the 20th century educational expansion increased, especially after World War II when internal self-government and later full self-government was granted. According to Kilson, the Provincial politicians who took control gave priority to reducing the imbalance between Creoles and Provincials (Kilson, 1962, p. 388). By 1955 there were about 49,000 pupils in primary schools and 5,000 in secondary schools. However facilities were still heavily concentrated in the Western Province: thus of the 22 secondary schools existing in 1955, 20 were in the Western Province, though this contained only 10% of the total population (Kilson, 1962, p. 389). By 1963-64

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1 The Church Missionary Society Grammar School, later to become the Sierra Leone Grammar School.

2 Even as late as 1963-64, Nigerians outnumbered Sierra Leoneans at Fourah Bay. (Report of the Ministry of Education for 1965, p. 12).

the number of students at both primary and secondary schools had more than doubled (to 117,875 and 11,351 respectively) so that about one fifth (21%) of all children of school going age were attending school. However the rate of school attendance among boys (28%) was twice that for girls (14%); and the proportion in primary schools is also much higher than that for secondary schools.[1]

The form of the educational system has changed several times, and, as Foster has pointed out for Ghana, each change tends to make the system even more like that found in the former metropolitan power.[2] Thus in 1967 there was a basic primary course of seven years, leading to the Selective Entrance

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[1] These figures were calculated from the figures for school attendance in 1963-64 given in the Report of the Ministry of Education for 1965 and the total number of children aged 5-19 in the Census of Sierra Leone, 1963. More detailed figures for the percentage of children in school, broken down by sex, Province and type of school are given in the Report of the Department of Education for the year 1966, Table 3. This shows that the greatest extremes are found in the Western and Northern Province, as follows:-

	Western Province		Northern Province	
	Primary	Secondary	Primary	Secondary
All children	88.53	18.69	10.23	0.75
Boys	100.00	22.87	20.57	1.66
Girls	76.68	14.04	11.28	0.25

[2] See Kilson, 1962; and Foster, 1965.

TABLE 1.2: Educational facilities by Province (1967).

	Primary		Secondary	
	Schools	Enrolment	Schools	Enrolment
North	239	37,878	12	2,614
South	343	33,043	20	4,747
East	258	31,551	11	2,423
West	99	34,352	23	11,534
TOTAL	939	136,824	66	21,318

Examination, followed by up to seven years of secondary schooling - forms I to V and two years in Form VI. As in Britain, however, secondary schools were divided into grammar schools, secondary modern schools and technical schools; and in 1967 only 9 of the 66 secondary schools had the sixth forms necessary for preparing their pupils for the highest examination in the system - the G.C.E. Advanced Level. Fees at primary schools averaged less than Le 2 (£1) per year, while at secondary school they varied between Le 30 (£15) for non-boarders and Le 80 for boarders.

Figures for numbers of schools and school enrolment in 1967 are given in Table 1.2. This shows that the total number of children in school has risen to 158,142, which is an increase of almost three times since 1955, and of over 17 times since 1901. The geographical imbalance of educational facilities is now much less marked, with 89% of primary schools and 65% of secondary schools in the Provinces, but it still exists relative

to the distribution of the total population. Also the schools in the Western Province tend to be of a higher quality than those in the other Provinces, though there are a number of very good schools in the Southern Province, such as the Bo Government Secondary School and Christ the King College, also in Bo. In addition to schools, there are also 9 teacher training colleges, with about 800 students, and 4 technical institutes and trade centres, with approximately 1,000 students. At the apex of the educational system stand the two colleges of the University of Sierra Leone - Fourah Bay College and Njala University College - with a combined population of over 800 undergraduates (Report of the Ministry of Education for the year 1968).

Let us briefly examine the distribution of Western educated persons in the country as a whole, and the variations within it. According to the 1963 Census, about 9% of the total population over the age of 5 years had at least some Western schooling, but this varied between 43% in the Western Province and 4% in the Northern Province, with the other two Provinces being on the average. However the spread of post-primary education is much less, only 2% of the population have any post-primary education, and of these only 2,171 (0.12% of the total) have reached university.[1] Particularly at these higher levels, educated males outnumbered educated females: of those with post-primary education, males outnumbered females by more than

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[1] However in 1968-69 Bond found only 754 graduates in Sierra Leone (Bond, 1972, p. 84).

two to one, and at the university level by 3½ times to one. Of particular interest for this study is the variation of educational level according to age. As a result of the recent rapid expansion of educational facilities, it is obvious that on average the younger age groups will be more educated than the older ones. Thus in the 15-24 age group - that of most interest in this study - 11.3% have at least some Western education, and 4.2% have some post-primary education, compared with equivalent figures of 5.5% and 1.6% in the 45 and over age range. In fact, of all those with post-primary education, 43% are under the age of 25 years. Thus, though the educated section of the population is very small, the younger members being studied in this thesis form a particularly significant part of it.

Lastly in this section, it remains to describe the economy of Sierra Leone, with particular reference to the occupational structure. As has been previously shown, the great majority of the population of Sierra Leone live in villages, and this is an indication that in Sierra Leone, as in most other developing nations, the bulk of the population is engaged in farming. As Saylor writes:

> The agricultural sector of the Sierra Leonean economy, like that of most tropical African countries, constitutes the largest sector of the economy in terms of contribution to national income and employment ... most observers estimate that over 50% of the national income is derived from the agricultural sector and that 80% of the people secure their primary support from the soil.
> (Saylor, 1967, pp. 34-35).

In fact the 1963 Census reveals that of the working population aged 10 years of age and over, 70% of males and 90% of females were engaged in farming, fishing or related activities. Most of these can be described as subsistence farmers, and their main staple is rice, followed by cassava, with other food crops being grown on a smaller scale. However they also sell their products for both internal consumption and export, and until recently these formed the bulk of all exports from Sierra Leone. Palm nuts have always been the most important agricultural export but in recent years their production has tended to decline, while that of coffee and cocoa has been increasing. As recently as 1951, agricultural exports constituted two thirds (66.8%) of the value of all exports from Sierra Leone, but by 1968 their proportion had been reduced to only one fifth (22%). According to Saylor, this means that Sierra Leone is the only West African country in which agricultural products form less than half of the total exports from that country (Saylor, 1967, pp. 38-40; Central Statistics Office, 1968, Table 7).

Agricultural products have been replaced by minerals - particularly diamonds - as the most important exports from Sierra Leone. In 1968 minerals constituted three quarters of all exports (76%), and were made up of diamonds (79%), iron ore (18%), and bauxite (3%) (Central Statistics Office, 1968, Table 7).[1] Sierra Leone is rightly described on its stamps as

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[1] The predominance of minerals was even more apparent in 1964 when minerals formed 85% of all exports and agricultural products 15% (Saylor, 1967, pp. 38, 127-128).

a "Land of Iron amd Diamonds". Mining in Sierra Leone is done in two ways: either by large and heavily capitalised expatriate firms organised on bureaucratic lines or by small scale indigenous producers using labour intensive methods. In 1968-69 while the research was underway, there were four bureaucratic mining companies in Sierra Leone. Predominant among these were Sierra Leone Selection Trust (S.L.S.T.), mining for diamonds in the Eastern Province with a labour force of about 4,000, and Sierra Leone Development Company (Delco), mining for iron ore in the Northern Province with a labour force of about 2,500 workers. Their operations date from the late 1920's and early 1930's. Two new mining companies have recently begun operations in the Southern Province, one mining bauxite and other rutile. I do not know the size of the labour force of these firms, but in 1968 the total number employed in bureaucratic mining firms was given as 8,833, or 14% of the labour force employed in establishments with six or more workers (Central Statistics Office, 1968, Table 24).[1]

Apart from S.L.S.T., the diamond industry also has an indigenous sector. Before 1956 S.L.S.T. had a legal monopoly of diamond production in Sierra Leone, but an increasing number of Africans engaged in illegal mining, and smuggled their gains into neighbouring countries. Not only was the government worried by the resulting lawlessness, illegal immigration and loss of export revenues, but it also recognised the legitimate desire of

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[1] Swindell puts the number in these two companies in 1963 at under 1,000 (Swindell, 1966 (a), p. 94.)

Sierra Leoneans for greater participation in their country's most lucrative industry. So in 1956 they initiated the Alluvial Diamond Mining Scheme, under which Sierra Leoneans could be issued with licences to dig for diamonds in selected areas outside the S.L.S.T. concessions. As with S.L.S.T. the activities of these miners were concentrated in the Kono and Kenema districts of the Eastern province, but they also spread into other parts of the Eastern and Southern Provinces. In contrast to S.L.S.T., methods of production were primitive and labour intensive. It has been estimated that at the height of the diamond boom in the mid 1950's, between 50,000 and 100,000 persons were engaged in alluvial diamond mining, either legally or illegally (Saylor, 1967, p. 59; van der Laan, 1965, p. 65). As a result of this massive immigration into the diamondiferous areas, the population density and proportion of males to females in the affected chiefdoms rose well above the national average, and a number of "diamond rush" towns, such as Baoma, Yomandu, Barma and Peyima, emerged.[1] In most years since the start of the scheme alluvial diamonds have constituted over half the total production, and this has resulted in a sharp increase in total diamond exports (Saylor, 1967, pp. 128, 136).

It seems likely, however, that returns to diamond operations are falling, both for S.L.S.T. and the indigenous diggers. By the mid 1960's (1964) the number of licencees

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[1] See the articles and maps in Clarke (1966), especially (pp. 42-49; 92-97).

and tributors seems to have fallen to about 29,000, and hence the total number of miners (Company employees plus indigenous diggers) is about 4% of the total labour force or 7% of the male labour force, (van der Laan, 1965, p. 65; Swindell, personal communication).[1] At least in Sierra Leone the popular adage that "diamonds last for ever" does not hold true; and it seems likely that in the near future Sierra Leone will have to look round for an alternative source of export revenue and employment.[2]

Lastly we must look at the bureaucratic sector of the economy, especially as it is of particular interest in the present study. One is immediately struck by its small size and relatively slow rate of growth. Even if we take it to include all those employed in establishments with six or more workers, by 1968 the bureaucratic sector of the economy consisted of only 63,070 individuals, or 7% of the total labour force; and it has increased by only one third (34%) in the last ten years (Central Statistics Office, 1968, Table 24; Ministry of Lands, Mines and Labour, 1965, Table 1). As previously shown, mining belongs partly to the bureaucratic sector (companies) and partly to the indigenous trading sector of the economy (diggers). Employees

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1 The figures are only approximations based on figures collected by the staff of the Mines Department. They make no allowance for illegal miners, or those engaged in mining on a part time or seasonal basis. However the figure is fairly close to the figure in the 1963 Census of 42,891 workers in mining, quarrying and related activities.

2 For more detailed accounts of the diamond industry in Sierra Leone, see van der Laan (1965), and Swindell, 1966 (b).

of mining companies make up 14% of workers in the bureaucratic sector. The other categories are services (31.2%), transport, storage and communication (13.5%), construction (11.8%), manufacturing (10.5%), commerce (10.4%), agriculture, forestry and fishing (5.6%) and electricity and water services (3.0%) (Central statistics Office, 1968, Table 24). The high proportion of workers in services and the low proportion in manufacturing, together with the large numbers of subsistence farmers are features characteristic of underdeveloped economies. At least half the workers in the bureaucratic sector of the economy are employed by the government, and the figure is even higher among high and intermediate level manpower (Ministry of Lands, Mines and Labour, 1965, Table 2; Saylor, 1967, pp. 25-27).

These high and intermediate level workers in the bureaucratic sector of the economy are of particular interest for the thesis. Again we find that the numbers involved are very small. The Manpower survey of 1964 put their numbers at 12,570, but according to the 1963 Census, workers in professional, technical, managerial, executive and clerical positions numbered 20,403 (Saylor, 1967, p. 27). The latter number of upper level positions seems large for a bureaucratic sector totalling about 63,000, but it may include some roles not counted in the bureaucratic sector.

As would be expected from the distribution of educated individuals, those in higher occupational positions are concentrated in the Freetown area. Thus 44% of such workers live in the Western Area, compared with only 6.7% of the total work force.

Most of the professionals in the Provinces are probably teachers, and if we look at clerical workers alone, we find that 63% of them are in the Western Area. It has already been noted that a large proportion of the educated population are in the younger age groups, and a similar characteristic might be expected of those in the higher occupational positions, but, on the whole, this is not as marked as might be expected. Though the average age of high status workers is fairly young, the under-25 age category - the main focus of this thesis - is not as over-represented as it was in the educated section of the population. This is probably because the under 25's are not usually old enough to have achieved these high status positions; and some of the older workers have achieved them with lower levels of education. Secondary school leavers, however, are all potential members of the sub-elite, if not of the elite itself; and as such they are an interesting section of the population to study.

Methods of social research.

As explained in the first section of this chapter, the research project was designed primarily as a study of secondary school leavers in Sierra Leone. As secondary school leavers form a social category rather than a social group, and as the data to be collected on them were mainly of a factual and quantifiable variety, it was decided that the interview should be the main method of research. Data from the interviews, however, were supplemented by other information collected from documentary sources and from informal participant observation among secondary

school leavers in Sierra Leone. The actual research may be divided into five main stages, namely preliminary work, sampling, interviewing, the collection of additional data, and the processing and writing up of results; and these will now be considered in turn.

1. Preliminary work.

Considerable preliminary work was necessary before it was possible to construct the interview schedule which was to be the main instrument of research. In particular it was necessary to narrow down the main areas of interest, and to design suitable questions to elicit information on these areas. This preliminary work was done partly in Edinburgh, during a six months period in residence at the University before leaving for the field, and partly in Sierra Leone, particularly in the first three months after arrival in the country, before formal interviewing was begun.

During the six months in Edinburgh I read widely on social change in Africa generally, and in particular on the socio-economic effects of education in West Africa. Of course such reading was also continued throughout the research project; and a list of references is given in the bibliography at the end of the thesis. Also during this period, two papers were prepared on the aims and methods of the research; and these served as the basis of discussions with other academics both in Edinburgh and Sierra Leone. Through the preparation of these papers and the subsequent discussions with teachers and colleagues it was possible to clarify and

refine the concepts and methods to be used in the research.

Such discussions were continued after my arrival in Sierra Leone in March 1968, and especially during the first two months which I mainly spent familiarising myself with the local situation. During this time I was able to obtain valuable information and advice from local experts, including academics, education officers, labour officers, youth employment officials and teachers.[1] During this period I was also able to make my first contacts with young people in Sierra Leone, both in formal settings, as arranged by the Department of Labour, and informally. The latter contacts depended upon a few initial introductions, which in turn led to a wider range of acquaintances. I spent periods of time with these young people both at their own homes and at my home, and also at parties, beer bars and other public places; and in this way I was able to learn more about their every-day-lives through observation as well as discussion.

This informal participant observation was particularly important at the early stages of the research, and it gave valuable insights into the situation of secondary school leavers which helped in the construction of the interview schedule. It was even possible to test out some of the questions which would later be used in the interviews in such informal situations. Some of these contacts persisted and deepened on a friendly and informal basis during my stay in Sierra Leone - in fact such relations tend to become ones of friendship rather than merely

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[1] My particular debts to some of the academics that I met at Fourah Bay College are recorded in the acknowledgements.

instrumental relationships between research worker and informant. Such relations helped to provide a deeper understanding of the life of secondary school leavers than would have been possible from the use of interviews alone.

However, the kind of quantifiable data which were desired could only be collected through a social survey of secondary school leavers in Sierra Leone. So during my third month in the country, guided by my preliminary readings and discussions and by my experience since coming to Sierra Leone, I drafted the first version of the interview schedule. I decided to administer the interviews myself, as this would allow me to follow up any interesting points as they arose in the interviews, and also whether adjustments were necessary in the future form of the interview schedule. Although the order of questions on the interview schedule was usually followed quite closely, especially in the early stages of the research the respondents were encouraged to give full and unstructured answers to the questions; and their answers were often followed up with supplementary questions. In the first few interviews answers were recorded in a fool's cap notebook, following the respondents' own wording as closely as possible. Four experimental interviews were first conducted with previous contacts - three teachers and one clerical worker - and a further three were conducted with the library staff at Fourah Bay College. As these interviews seemed reasonably satisfactory, allowing for the initial inexperience of the interviewer, the same interview schedule and method were used for 29 interviews at Sierra Leone Selection Trust and 28 interviews at Sierra Leone

Brewery. At this stage some modifications were made to the interview schedule, before conducting a further 30 interviews at the United Africa Company. After that the final version of the schedule was constructed; and this is reproduced in Appendix 1 of the thesis.

The main effect of these changes was to shorten the time required for conducting interviews. Certain questions were found to be redundant, for they produced stereotyped responses. Thus, for example, questions of the causes of rural-urban migration, or on the advantages and disadvantages of town and village life produced very similar answers from most respondents, and were therefore dropped from later versions of the schedule. In addition, it was felt that there was little value in quantifying such answers; and so they were not required from all the respondents. Other questions, as judged from the nature of responses to them in the early interviews, appeared to lack validity - e.g. those on qualities desired in friends and spouses. They were too hypothetical for satisfactory answers to be given, and at times the respondents did not seem to understand their implications. Another factor contributing to the shortening interview time was the growing efficiency of the interviewer. Supplementary lines of questioning were now usually found unnecessary, and instead of writing out the answers in full, as at first, a special, partially pre-coded sheet was devised for recording responses .

Originally most interviews had taken about two hours, usually spread over two hourly sessions; but as a result of these

changes it was later possible to complete most interviews in a single session lasting about one and a quarter hours. This made it more acceptable to both the respondents and their employers; and in particular it prevented the possibility - which occurred in a few of the early two session interviews - of respondents, after successfully completing the first half of the interview, refusing to submit to the second session. Apart from those questions which were dropped, most other questions, especially those of a factual nature, remained the same. It was therefore considered unnecessary to reject the early "pilot" interviews which had used the first two versions of the interview schedule; and their results are incorporated in the figures for the total survey.

2. Sampling procedures.

As previously explained, the research was designed as a study of secondary school leavers. The first problem of sampling, then, was to define this category operationally, and this was done in terms of age and educational level. In terms of age, it was decided that respondents should have been born in the year 1943 or after. In effect, this would mean that by the year 1969 they could not have been older than 26 years. The actual distribution of respondents in terms of their ages at the time they were interviewed is given in Table 1.3.

TABLE 1.3: Age of respondents at the time of interview.

17-18 years	19-20 years	21-22 years	23-24 years	25-26 years	Total
12	46	74	77	41	250

In terms of education, it was decided that respondents should either have reached Forms IV, V or VI; or have reached any form in secondary school, and then continued their education in some institution of further education, but of sub-university level. The distribution of respondents in terms of the last form they reached in secondary school is given in Table 1.4.

Table 1.4: Last form in secondary school reached by respondents.

Sex	1	2	3	4	5	6	Total
Males	2	9	18	27	141	5	202
Females	0	1	2	16	29	0	48
Total	2	10	20	43	170	5	250

It can be seen that respondents were particularly likely to have reached Form V. This may be explained partly in terms of the relatively low rate of drop-out between Forms IV and V;[1] partly in terms of the relatively poor chances for further education for those who left secondary school between Forms I and III; and perhaps partly in terms of the poorer employment opportunities for Form IV leavers compared with Form V leavers. For all these reasons Form V leavers would be most likely to be represented in the sample. The small representation of Form VI leavers may be attributed partly to the relatively small numbers of pupils in sixth forms in Sierra Leone;[2] and partly to their opportunities

[1] This fact is confirmed by the statistics in Ministry of Education reports.

[2] In 1967-68 there were 342 pupils in the upper and lower sixth

for further education, particularly in university, which would make them ineligible for inclusion in the sample.

Respondents who had left secondary school between Forms I and III had to have some form of further education to be included in the sample; while some of the Forms IV and V leavers also had further education. The main forms of further education among respondents are shown in Table 1.5. From this it can be

TABLE 1.5: Further education of respondents.

Sex	Teacher training	Technical	Secretarial	Total
Males	19	24	2	45
Females	11	0	16	27
Total	30	24	18	72

seen that teacher training is the most common form of further education, followed by technical training and secretarial training. Technical training is found exclusively among males, secretarial training almost exclusively among females, while teacher training is found among both males and females. A more detailed examination of respondents' education since leaving school is to be found in the next chapter.

To construct an ideal sample it would have been necessary to construct a complete list of those leaving secondary schools in Sierra Leone who met the specified characteristics in terms of

forms, compared with 2,006 in Form V (Report of the Ministry of Education for the Year 1968, Table 6).

age and education. This could then have been randomly sampled to provide the required number of respondents. As Gamble points out, however, the construction and use of such a comprehensive list of secondary school leavers would be extremely difficult; and I myself confirmed this when I arrived in Sierra Leone.[1] The records kept by most secondary schools were far from adequate for the purpose, and the tasks of tracking down the ex-pupils would have been very laborious if not impossible. In fact it is probably easier to use this method to follow-up those who continue with their education after leaving school than those who enter the labour market, who are of primary interest here.

It was therefore decided to compromise by taking various samples at different places of employment, and also at labour exchanges. The selection of these locations at which to conduct interviews will have artificially influenced the composition of the sample; and therefore it cannot be taken as representative, e.g. in occupational status, of the total population of secondary school leavers in Sierra Leone. An attempt was made, however, to interview respondents in different sectors of the economy; and interviews were conducted among workers in the civil service, commerce (U.A.C.), mining (S.L.S.T.), private industry (S.L.B.), nationalised industry (F.I.C.), a public institution (F.B.C.), teaching and among the unemployed.[2] Figures for the distribution

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[1] Gamble(1962). Foster and Clignet did try to follow-up secondary school leavers in Ghana and the Ivory Coast in rather limited surveys of their position; but their attempts can only be considered partly successful, for they managed to contact only a relatively small proportion (27% in the case of their Ivory Coast sample) of even those school leavers whose addresses they were able to obtain. They comment on the difficulties of this type of re-

TABLE 1.6: Sex and location of interview of respondents.

Location of interview	Males	Females	Total
Sierra Leone Selection Trust (S.L.S.T.)	29	-	29
Sierra Leone Brewery (S.L.B.)	28	-	28
United Africa Company (U.A.C.) (Freetown)	30	8	38
Teachers (Western Area)	23	18	41
Teachers (Kenema District and Town)	20	1	21
Civil Service (Freetown)	21	7	28
Civil Service (Kenema and Bo)	10	-	10
Unemployed (Freetown)	20	5	25
Unemployed (Kenema and Kono)	15	-	15
Fourah Bay College (F.B.C.)	3	8	11
Forest Industries (F.I.C.) (Kenema)	3	1	4
Total	202	48	250

of respondents by the location of their interview are given in Table 1.6. It would seem that these figures are reasonably representative of the employment of secondary school leavers as a whole. It is probable, however, that employees of the government, and particularly of government corporations, are under-represented; and certain government services, such as health, the

search (Foster, 1965; Clignet and Foster, 1966, ch. 8). Harrell-Bond was more successful in constructing a list of graduates in Sierra Leone, and using this as a basis of drawing her sample of the elite (Harrell-Bond, 1972).

2 For the meaning of these initials, see Table 1.6.

police and the army, are not represented at all. Also secondary school leavers who were unemployed but had not registered with the labour exchange are not represented in the present sample.

The choice of interview locations also influenced the geographical distribution of respondents. It was decided to do most of the interviewing in the Western and Eastern Provinces. Not only are these Provinces at opposite ends of the country, but they are also the two areas of greatest economic development, the former based in administration, commerce and industry, and the latter on diamond mining. The sample was heavily biased towards the Western Area, with 171 interviews carried out there, while 74 were in the Eastern Province. The remaining five interviews were conducted in the Southern Province, while workers in the Northern Province are not represented in the sample.

From Table 1.7 it is possible to compare the geographical distribution of members of the sample with that of all Form IV to VI leavers in the 20-24 years age range; and all professional, technical and white collar workers under the age of 25 years. It can be seen that when compared with all Form IV to VI leavers, the geographical distribution of the sample between the Western Area and the other Provinces is fairly representative. Between the other three Provinces, however, as would be expected, respondents are too concentrated in the Eastern Province. Also when compared with the geographical distribution of all professional, technical and white collar workers, it seems that the sample is not very representative, for their total proportion in the Northern, Southern and Eastern Provinces combined is much higher than

TABLE 1.7: Geographical distribution of the respondents by Province of interview, compared with the geographical distribution of:-

(i) All those of age 20-24 years with maximum education to Forms IV, V, or VI;

(ii) All those of age 10-24 years in professional, technical, managerial, administrative, executive and clerical work.

	North	South	East	West	Total
Respondents	0	5	74	171	250
	-	2%	30%	68%	100%
All Form IV-VI leavers, without further education	240	213	251	1,201	1,905[1]
	13%	11%	13%	63%	100%
All white collar employees in 10-24 years age range	820	731	682	1,831	4,064[1]
	20%	18%	17%	45%	100%

[1] These figures are drawn from the 1963 Census of Sierra Leone.

the proportion of respondents in these Provinces. It seems probable that a high proportion of such workers in the three Provinces are teachers, mainly in primary schoolsand these teachers are inadequately represented in the sample. It should be remembered, however, that many of these teachers may lack the secondary education necessary for their inclusion in the sample. If, on the other hand, we look only at clerical workers in the 20-24 years age range, we find that 63% of them are working in the Western Province, which is quite similar to the 68% of respondents interviewed there. Analysis of the size of place of interview of respondents would produce rather similar conclusions. Thus the concentration of respondents in Freetown and the other larger towns, as can be seen in

Table 2.2 in the next chapter, is quite representative of the distribution of secondary school leavers as a whole in such towns. Once again, however, it is likely that the respondents are more concentrated in these large towns than are all professional, technical and white collar workers; and again this is probably because of the large number of school teachers in the villages.

Finally it is necessary to mention the distribution of respondents by sex. It was decided to concentrate mainly on male school leavers, and they are therefore over-represented in the sample relative to their proportion of all secondary school leavers. Thus the sample contained 202 males and 48 females, though among all Form IV to VI leavers in the 20 to 24 years age range in Sierra leone males outnumber females by about two to one (1,293/612); and males outnumber females by a similar proportion (2,708/1,356) among all professional, technical and white collar workers under the age of 25 years. In terms of the location of interviews, however, the distribution of males and females is probably fairly representative of employment opportunities. Thus female school leavers tend to be employed mainly in teaching and other white collar employment, particularly in the Western Area; and this is congruent with the distribution of most female respondents. They do not appear to be often employed in mining, industry, or even white collar employment in the Provinces, and female respondents were not interviewed in these categories. For a more balanced sample, however, it might have been useful to include some nurses, and a proportion of female teachers in the Provinces.

It was also sometimes necessary to sample within the populations chosen for interview. Whenever possible a full list of the population to be sampled was constructed. In the case of Sierra Leone Selection Trust (S.L.S.T.), Sierra Leone Brewery (S.L.B.), and the United Africa Company (U.A.C.), information on the total labour force was collected from the personnel records, while in the case of Fourah Bay College (F.B.C.) information on the junior staff only was collected; and this information was recorded on pre-coded slips. When information on the records was found to be incomplete, it was sometimes possible to provide the missing data from short interviews with the workers concerned.[1] It was then an easy task to construct from the pre-coded slips a complete sampling universe for each location - i.e. a list of all workers who qualified to be interviewed in terms of the age and educational criteria given above. In the case of workers at S.L.B. and females at F.B.C. it was decided to interview all workers in the appropriate category. In the case of workers at S.L.S.T. and U.A.C. random samples were drawn from the sampling universes by means of random number tables. Thus at S.L.S.T., 29 out of 110 potential respondents were interviewed, while at U.A.C. the equivalent figures were 30 out of 69 males and 8 out of 25 females.

In the other sub-samples it was not possible to select respondents on a completely random basis. In the case of teach-

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[1] This was done systematically for the whole labour force in the case of S.L.B. and U.A.C., and for secondary school leavers only in the case of S.L.S.T. The records for junior staff at F.B.C. were found to be relatively complete. Some analysis of these additional data on complete labour forces is found in Chapter 2.

ers an attempt was made to construct a sampling universe from records kept by the Ministry of Education. There were in fact two possible lists of teachers, one based on the record cards of teachers, and the other on their pay slips. Neither of these was found to be a satisfactory method of drawing a sample, however: the record cards were not kept systematically enough, while the pay slips did not contain all the necessary information on age and educational qualifications. It would have been theoretically possible to draw a sample by combining information from the two sources, but this seemed too laborious. Instead a sample of schools rather than individual teachers was drawn: again using random number tables, 20 primary schools were selected from the 99 in the Western Area, and 20 from the 117 in Kenema District of the Eastern Province; and all teachers in these schools who fell within the appropriate age and educational categories were interviewed. In addition, teachers from two selected secondary schools in Freetown and four selected secondary schools in Kenema District were also interviewed.

In the case of the civil service and the labour exchanges sampling was not possible. The civil service was rightly jealous of the confidentiality of their personnel records, and would not make them available for sampling purposes; and so it was only possible to interview those junior civil servants recommended by the office of the Establishment Secretary. At the labour exchanges, the labour officers claimed that it would be too difficult to contact a random sample of secondary school leavers reporting to the labour exchanges; and also that calling them in

especially for interview might unfairly raise their hopes of employment. Therefore all the appropriate secondary school leavers visiting the Freetown, Kenema and Koidu labour exchanges on certain days were interviewed. Thus, in summary, it can be said that about 40% of those interviewed were selected by strict sampling procedures within their interview locations and another 25% by less strict sampling procedures, while the remaining 35% were internally unsampled.

Finally, a word may be said about the proportion which respondents in the survey formed of the total universe of potential respondents. From Table 1.7 it can be seen that Form IV to VI leavers in the age range 20-24 years numbered 1,905 in 1963. Allowing for the increase in school places between 1963-64 and 1968-69,[1] and for the inclusion in the sampling universe of young people from adjacent age categories, and of others with lower levels of secondary education but some form of further education, it seems likely that the potential sampling universe might number around 5,000 by 1968-69. In this case, the 250 respondents might constitute about 5% of the total population to be sampled. This, however, must be recognised as largely speculative.

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[1] Between these years the numbers of pupils in secondary schools rose from 10,592 to 22,119. However, the full extent of this increase may not be reflected in the sampling universe, for many of these additional pupils may still have been involved in education at the time of the research. They may thus not have entered the labour market, and would not be eligible for inclusion in the sample.

3. Interviewing procedures.

All interviews were conducted by myself. In the case of workers in the civil service, in firms and at Fourah Bay College, access to respondents was gained through their employers, usually in the employers' time and on their premises. Sometimes office space was provided by the employers, where respondents could come to the research worker to be interviewed, as at S.L.B. and the civil service, while in other cases, as at S.L.S.T., U.A.C. and F.B.C., it was necessary for the research worker to visit the respondents in their dispersed places of work, and to interview them there. Unemployed respondents were contacted through the labour exchanges, and they were interviewed in office space provided on the premises. Finally, it was not felt possible to interview teachers during their working hours: their names and addresses were therefore obtained from their employing authorities, and they were then usually visited in their homes. As a result, they were usually interviewed there, either immediately, or, if that was not convenient, an arrangement was made to call back later to conduct the interview.

An interview schedule was used; and the final version of this is reproduced in Appendix 1. As this was a rather long and intricate interview, it was necessary to obtain the consent and cooperation of the respondents; and this was especially important for the relatively unstructured parts of the interview when information on such topics as life histories and attitudes was being obtained. Two main methods of creating rapport with respondents in the interview situation were especially utilised. Firstly, it

was considered necessary to define the research worker's position clearly from the start through correct introductions and explanations of the nature and purpose of the research. Of course the research worker's position was partly defined for respondents when he was working within an institutional context, such as a firm or the civil service, and initial introduction, or at least permission for the interviews, were obtained through management. In the case of teachers visited in their own homes, a more elaborate explanation of the research worker's position was necessary. In all cases, however, before starting the interview an attempt was made to explain clearly the nature and purposes of the research, stressing particularly its mainly academic nature; and opportunities for asking questions or discussing the research were allowed at both the beginning and the end of the interviews.[1] It was sometimes found useful in establishing rapport with respondents to explain how they had been selected for interview, or to mention any of their friends who had recently been interviewed.

The form of the questions was also designed to encourage good rapport with respondents; and adjustments were also made to questions in the course of interviews in the hope of achieving this end. It was felt that the interviews were by nature rather long and tedious for the respondents; and to combat this special attention to the face validity of the questions was considered necessary. It was hoped that if the respondents could see the point of each question, and follow the logical progression of the

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[1] The usual form of self-introduction is reproduced at the head of the interview schedule in Appendix 1. This introduction might be varied, however, according to the situation and the character of the respondent.

order of questions, this would increase their sense of involvement in the interview situation. Otherwise boredom may set in, or perhaps even hostility if the respondent thinks that his time is being wasted on a meaningless task. As well as the interview being originally designed with this in mind, the order of the questions was varied in the actual interviews if it was thought that this followed more closely the development of themes by individual respondents. Finally, questions on potentially sensitive but non-essential topics, such as sexual matters, illegitimacy and secret societies, were omitted if it was thought that these would endanger rapport in the more important parts of the interview.

On the whole, it was felt that fairly good rapport was established with respondents, and this contributed not only to the collection of detailed and honest answers, but also to the efficient and pleasant conduct of the interviews generally. In addition, only a very small number of potential respondents refused to be interviewed: only two refused outright, while another put off so many interview appointments that the interview was finally abandoned. In addition, in six of the original two-session interviews, only the first session was completed. In two of these cases this was merely because of practical difficulties in contacting the respondent for the second half of the interview;[1] but in another two cases it was because the respon-

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[1] In one of these cases the respondent was a security wireless operator working at a remote outpost of S.L.S.T.; while in the other case the respondent was a clerical worker who went on leave before the second session of the interview. These incomplete interviews account for the decreasing number of cases in the tables in later chapters.

dents refused to be interviewed for a second time, while in the final two cases full cooperation was not achieved in the first session, and the second session was abandoned. Finally, some problems were encountered at Forest Industries Corporation at Kenema, where management claimed that there was some discontent among the workers after the first day's interviewing; and it was decided to discontinue interviewing as there were very few potential respondents in the company. It may be that these difficulties were due to random factors. But it was suspected that they were particularly likely to occur in companies with poor labour relations which provided fertile ground for the development of suspicions about the research worker and his motives among potential respondents. In addition it was felt that the situation at F.I.C. at Kenema may have been complicated by political unrest among the local Mende. On the whole, however, it was felt that good rapport was established in most interviews; and as a result the interviews provided a good vehicle for the collection of the kind of data required for the present research.

4. The collection of additional data.

Apart from the data collected in the interviews, additional data were collected from other sources. As was previously mentioned, at S.L.S.T., S.L.B., U.A.C. and F.B.C. information was collected on the labour forces as part of the sampling procedure; and this was supplemented by data on the labour force at Auriel Tobacco Company, also at Wellington Industrial Estate just outside Freetown. In each of these locations, data on the socio-economic characteristics of each employee were extracted from his personn-

el file, and were recorded on a pre-coded slip.[1] When information in the records was found to be incomplete, it was sometimes possible to provide the missing information from short interviews with the workers concerned. These data not only facilitated the process of sampling, but also provided comparative information on a wider cross-section of the working population of Sierra Leone, which can then be compared with the characteristics of the respondents in the main survey. This has been attempted in one of the sections of Chapter 2. In addition, information was collected by similar means on teachers, applicants at labour exchanges, and students at Fourah Bay College. A summary of this additional information is given below, but not all the results of this material will be presented in this thesis.

(a) Three industrial and commercial firms in the Western Area - S.L.B., U.A.C., A.T.C. (about 1,100 cases).

(b) F.B.C. Junior Staff (about 200 cases).

(c) Employees of S.L.S.T. (about 4,000 cases)

(d) Sample of teachers throughout Sierra Leone[2] (about 3,500 cases).

(e) Applicants at Freetown labour exchange (about 5,000 cases).

(f) Literate applicants at Koidu and Kenema labour exchanges (about 150 cases).

(g) Students at F.B.C. in 1968-69 (about 600 cases).

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1 I am indebted to J.A.S. Blair, then of the Institute of African Studies, Fourah Bay College, who introduced me to this method of data collection; and the data on S.L.S.T. were collected in collaboration with him.

2 The sampling of teachers' records, kept at the Ministry of Education, Freetown, was not very successful. Every fourth record card was sampled; but by this method a total of about 3,500 cases were obtained, though only about 6,000 teachers were reported as working in Sierra Leone in the session 1967-68 (Report of the Ministry of Education for the Year 1968, p. 4). It was ob-

Two other sources of information should also be mentioned. Firstly, it was hoped to determine the range of social contacts within the category of secondary school leavers, and the various socio-economic constraints which affect the pattern of these contacts. For this purpose a list of the 250 respondents in the main survey was presented to a sample of secondary school leavers; and they were asked to pick out those respondents whom they could identify. In this way it was possible to gauge the extent to which secondary school leavers formed a social group within which mutual recognition was possible, and the factors affecting the extent of this recognition. The method will be described in more detail when the results are presented in Chapter 9. Secondly, some additional material was collected on labour turnover among members of the sample. I revisited Sierra Leone on other business for a short period in 1972; and took the opportunity to return to some of the interview locations to find out how many of the original respondents were still employed there. The results of this "re-survey" are reported in Chapter 4.

5. Processing of data and writing up of results.

The final stages of the research were the processing of the data and the writing up of the results. When interviewing was completed, the first priority after returning to Britain was to translate the data into an easily processable form, for example

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vious that there was frequent duplication of record cards, and that out-of-date cards were not being systematically removed. This was part - but only part - of the reason why these records were found unsuitable for drawing a sample of teachers for interview.

by punch-card sorter or computer. The results on students at Fourah Bay College were processed first, as a test of the methods to be used in processing the results of the main survey. Devising a coding scheme and actually coding the 250 interviews of the main survey took about three months. The data were then transferred to I.B.M. cards, with each interview requiring six cards; and thus a total of 1,500 cards was used to store the data derived from the interviews of the main survey.

The data were processed in a number of ways, including mechanical, electronic and manual. The first material to be processed, and particularly that included in Chapters 5, 6, 7, 8 and 11, was processed on a punch-card sorter; while much of the later data, especially that in Chapters 3, 4, 9 and 10, were processed on a computer, using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (S.P.S.S.).[1] However it was often found necessary to go back to the original interviews for data which were difficult to obtain by other means, or for direct quotations from the respondents. A more holistic impression of the respondents was best obtained directly from the interviews, as was an explanation of the exceptional cases emerging in tabulations produced by other means. In addition, while in West Africa it was sometimes difficult to gain easy access to processing facilities; and in that case manual tabulations were sometimes the best alternative.

Lastly came the task of analysing and writing up the results. This process took a number of years because of the vol-

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1 Chapter 2, and to a lesser extent, Chapter 9, combined mechancial, electronic and manual methods of data processing. In particular, most of the data on U.A.C., S.L.B., A.T.C. and S.L.S.T. were processed by hand. Data on students at F.B.C. were processed by Punch-card sorter.

uminous nature of the data, and my simultaneous commitments to various other projects. Some of the material was first written up in the form of seminar papers - about seven in all - which were presented in various universities;[1] and these were incorporated in a modified form in the final thesis. Other parts of the research were written up directly for the thesis, though they may have gone through a number of draft versions.

Having now described the theoretical aims, methods and background of the research, and having even examined some of the characteristics of respondents which were predetermined by the nature of the sample, it is now possible to move on to an examination of the results which emerged from the social survey of secondary school leavers in Sierra Leone.

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1 Papers were presented at the Universities of Sierra Leone, Edinburgh, Manchester and Cape Coast (Ghana); and also at a conference with the theme of modernisation in Sierra Leone, held at the University of Western Ontario, Canada in 1971.

PART 2

SOCIAL MOBILITY: RECRUITMENT TO THE SUB-ELITE IN SIERRA LEONE

CHAPTER 2: The differential distribution of educational and occupational opportunities in Sierra Leone.

This chapter has two main aims. Firstly, it will present information on the geographical and socio-economic origins of members of the sample. Not only is this important because it demonstrates the pattern of recruitment into the sub-elite in Sierra Leone, but also because it provides valuable data on the characteristics of respondents which will be the basis of much of the analysis in later chapters. Secondly, on a more general level, this chapter will examine the distribution of educational, and hence occupational, opportunities in Sierra Leone, and attempt to assess the extent to which these are evenly or unevenly distributed among the various geographical and socio-economic groupings which make up the population. Insomuch as the author is interested in the extent of equality or inequality of opportunity in Sierra Leone, this may be considered as a contribution to the study of social mobility in Sierra Leone.

As mentioned in the introductory chapter, previous writers on this subject have tended to emphasise the relative openness of elites in West Africa, showing that a relatively high proportion of the membership of these elites has usually originated in humble homes. In other words, they have demonstrated that there are often relatively high rates of social mobility into the elites. For example, Lloyd, in his study of the university-educated elite in Ibadan, found that two fifths of his sample had illiterate fathers, and over two thirds had illiterate

mothers, while Jahoda, in a pioneering study of students at the University of Ghana, found that 25% of the students had no literate parent, and 70% had no literate grandparent (Lloyd, 1967a, p. 135; Jahoda, 1955, pp. 71-2). Jahoda also found that 27.2% of the students in his sample had fathers who were farmers or fishermen, 8.6% had fathers who were manual workers, and 14.0% had fathers who were in occupations classified as "lower commercial" (Jahoda, 1954, p. 360). In addition, Peil has argued that since the time of Jahoda's study in the early 1950's there has been a "broadening base" of Ghanaian university students: thus in 1963 she found that 38.7% of students entering the University of Ghana had fathers who were farmers or fishermen (Peil, 1965, p. 23). Foster has been among the sociologists to argue most consistently that the West African educational system is extremely open; and he attributes this to the absence of class correlated norms and values relating to education. Thus, in writing about the Ghanaian educational system, he states:

> "Notwithstanding ..... restrictions and inequalities one can only conclude that the Ghanaian secondary schools perform a remarkable job in terms of their selective and allocative functions. Underlying this is, perhaps, the existence of a set of values which makes secondary education a 'popular' institution in spite of its restricted provision and highly academic content. The secondary school in Ghana is not, so far, the prerogative of any social minority; it is believed to be open to <u>all</u> individuals of talent, irrespective of their origins. The very existence of such a belief tends to ensure that the secondary schools do operate as real channels of mobility" (Foster, 1965, p. 259).

Foster also claims that this openness is also manifest in allocation of students between various streams of the system of secondary education.

None of these writers would deny, however, that there is considerable selectivity in recruitment to higher education in West Africa; or, in other words, that children from homes which are higher in terms of socio-economic characteristics have a better opportunity of reaching secondary school and university than children from less privileged homes. Thus Peil found that of the students entering the University of Ghana in 1963, 43.1% had guardians who were in professional, commercial and clerical occupations, though less than 10% of all Ghanaian males were in such occupations; and only 38.7% of the guardians were in farming, compared with 62% of all employed males (Peil, 1965, p. 23). Similarly, Foster found in his study of secondary school students in Ghana that 40.3% had fathers who were in professional, higher technical, administrative and clerical occupations, and only 32.5% had fathers who were farmers or fishermen (Foster, 1965, pp. 240-42). Perhaps the most remarkable figures illustrating social selectivity in recruitment to higher education are those from Sierra Leone itself, where Harrell-Bond found in a random sample of university graduates that 64% were Creoles, though Creoles constituted less than 2% of the total population, and 79% had fathers who had been to school, though only 6% of all males aged over 35 years had done so (Harrell-Bond, 1972, p. 91). The pattern appears to be one in which the children from poorer homes face considerable difficulties in obtaining a good education; but in which there is still enough room at the top to absorb them in large numbers.

It should be noted, however, that none of this research constitutes a satisfactory study of social mobility, encompassing a complete society. Such a study would require the systematic sampling of all social strata in the society, and the measurement and comparison of rates of both in- and out-mobility for each stratum, to build up a "mobility profile" for the society as a whole.[1] As far as I know, no such study has yet been attempted in West Africa. The present study does not attempt to rectify this deficiency, for, like the previously mentioned studies, it is mainly concerned with one stratum of the population, in this case the sub-elite. To have attempted a more wide-ranging study of social mobility in Sierra Leone might have distorted the primary aim of the research project, which was to investigate the socio-economic position of secondary school leavers in Sierra Leone. Without risking this, however, it has been possible by bringing together data from different sources, to build up a reasonably satisfactory picture of the distribution of educational and occupational opportunities in Sierra Leone.

The primary data used in this chapter are drawn from the sample of secondary school leavers, comparison of their geographical and socio-economic origins with the characteristics of the total population of Sierra Leone providing a crude measure of the distribution of educational and occupational opport-

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[1] Classical examples of this approach are to be found in Glass (1954) and Lipset and Bendix (1959).

unities between various sections of the population. They do, however, have a number of major defects in allowing a satisfactory model of social mobility in Sierra Leone to be constructed. Firstly, information is only available on a single stratum, and so there is no way of knowing the rates of in- and out-mobility of other strata. The lack of data on higher strata is not so serious, for a reasonably reliable estimate of the rate of upward mobility can be deduced from the present data, but from these data it is very difficult to assess the rate of downward mobility; and, as Fox and Miller point out: "Downward mobility may be more indicative of social fluidity than upward mobility" (Fox and Miller, 1967, p. 575).[1] This is because in a developing society like Sierra Leone the creation of new job opportunities may allow "forced mobility" in an upward direction, without necessarily displacing those at the top. The real test of the openness of a social structure - or, in other words, of the extent of equality of opportunity - is "exchange mobility", in which those moving up are replacing those at the top, who are thus forced to move down. As Fox and Miller indicate, this can best be tested by measuring downward mobility; but the present sample, being relatively high in socio-economic status, does not allow an adequate measure of this.

The second major difficulty in using the present data to generalize about the rate of social mobility in Sierra Leone is that this introduces distortions resulting from the method

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[1] Bergel makes a similar point, using post-revolutionary Russia as an example (Bergel , 1962 , pp. 236-8). For a more detailed account of the difficulties of measuring social mobility, particularly on a comparative basis, see Miller (1960).

of sampling. As explained in the introductory chapter, it was not felt possible to sample all secondary school leavers in Sierra Leone, and so various locations had to be chosen for interviewing. The choice of these locations must obviously have influenced the composition of the sample, and analysis of the data will therefore have to take into account the fact that the respondents were not a randomly selected cross-section of secondary school leavers in Sierra Leone. In particular it should be noted that as the majority of interviews were conducted in the Western Area, the sample is probably biased towards Creoles and others originating in the Western Area. Thus in comparing the socio-economic characteristics of respondents with those of the total population of Sierra Leone, it is not possible to draw direct conclusions on the distribution of educational and occupational opportunities in Sierra Leone, for part of the variation must have resulted from the choice of the interview locations. This caution must be kept in mind not only in this chapter, but throughout the thesis.

Two other restrictions on this sample may also be briefly mentioned. Firstly, as all respondents were at the beginning of their occupational careers, no allowance could be made for intra-generational social mobility. Secondly, this study, like the previously mentioned studies, looks only at the educated section of the population: it therefore appears to overemphasise education as a means of social mobility, and neglects other routes, such as those through business, politics, and so on.

Supplementing these primary data with data from other sources may partially remedy these problems. Three other types of data will be presented in this chapter. Firstly, data will be presented on the educational and occupational characteristics of the siblings of respondents. Such data will not only broaden the basis of the sample, but will also be less liable to distortion by the sampling procedure: while all respondents must necessarily be secondary school leavers, mainly living in the Western Area, this is not necessarily true of their siblings. By examining the educational and occupational characteristics of respondents' sibling groups, and comparing these with their geographical and socio-economic origins, it will be possible to get a better picture of the distribution of opportunities for educational and occupational mobility in the population as a whole. Though a respondent of a particular socio-economic group may have been included in the sample because of the sampling procedure, the educational level of his siblings relative to the socio-economic levels of the siblings of respondents from other types of background, should give a reasonable idea of the relative degree of access of members of the different groups to educational and occupational opportunities. These data should be particularly useful in providing a measure of downward mobility: because of the primary focus of the study, all respondents were of relatively high socio-economic status, and so there was little opportunity for them to be downwardly mobile relative to their parents; but examination of the socio-economic level of their siblings - and particularly those of respondents with parents of high socio-economic status - should give a reason-

able estimate of the extent of downward mobility. From the above discussion we,can predict that it is likely to be quite low.

Secondly, data will be presented on the entire labour forces (excluding management and supervisory staff) of three companies at which interviewing was conducted, namely Sierra Leone Selection Trust, Sierra Leone Brewery and the United Africa Company, and at one company at which no interviewing was conducted, namely Auriel Tobacco Company. Although this information, having been obtained from company records, is less complete than that obtained from the interviews, it does provide some interesting comparative data on a wider cross-section of the population. In particular, it allows the ethnic and geographical origins of the respondents to be compared with those of workers in the same firms, but in different educational and occupational categories, or in different age categories. The former comparison allows a broader picture of the distribution of educational and occupational opportunities, while the latter helps to show how this pattern may be changing from one generation to the next.

Thirdly, the educational careers of respondents will be examined for any evidence that suggests that there is internal differentiation in the sample in terms of educational opportunities. Is there any evidence, for example, that those from homes of higher socio-economic status were able to stay at school longer, or gain better qualifications, than those from poorer homes? Are there any significant variations in the rea-

sons for leaving school between respondents of differing socio-economic backgrounds? Clignet and Foster seemed to find very few such variations among a sample of secondary school students in the Ivory Coast, for their conclusions were the following:

> "Firstly, although there are inequalities of access into the system in terms of ethnicity and social background, the overall pattern of postprimary recruitment is relatively fluid. Second, this openness is still more marked when access to the various components of the secondary system is considered; social and ethnic background is an even less useful predictor of where a student will finally end up in the system than of whether he will enter it or not. Third, examination of the process of internal allocation in more dynamic terms shows that the relatively small difference in the background of students in different streams and cycles reflects a process of adjustment and internal mobility. Students with initial advantages in terms of access may begin in the higher status streams, but this is partially offset by their greater rate of subsequent downward mobility." (Clignet and Foster, 1966, p.111).

In this chapter, then, such internal differentiation in the sample in educational terms will be considered, though in less detail than in the research of Clignet and Foster; while in the next chapter internal differentation of the sample in terms of occupational criteria will be looked at.

The final section will attempt to summarise the overall pattern of social mobility in Sierra Leone, and to interpret it. To anticipate the conclusions, it appears that although many Sierra Leoneans from humble homes have been able to scale the socio-economic ladder, there does appear to be considerable inequality of opportunity in Sierra Leone. In the final section of this chapter an attempt will be made to explain this inequality in terms of various historical, geographical, economic, psy-

chological and sociological variables; and to explain the overall pattern of social mobility in terms of the structure of the society itself.

The geographical and socio-economic background of secondary school leavers in Sierra Leone.

We can now turn to an examination of some data on the background of respondents, beginning with information on their places of birth, some of which is presented in Tables 2.1 and 2.2. From Table 2.1 it can be seen that despite the fact that only a small proportion (9%) of the population of Sierra Leone lives in the Western Area, the largest group of respondents (43%) was born there. Taken together, respondents from the other three Provinces form a majority in the sample (55%), but they are greatly underrepresented. This is especially marked among the Northerners, who form two fifths of the total population, but only one fifth of the sample. Despite this underrepresentation, however, in terms of absolute numbers they are still the largest Provincial group in the sample. Five respondents were born outside Sierra Leone, two in Guinea, and one each in Liberia, Nigeria, and England.

There is a similar bias in terms of size of places of birth, with respondents being most likely to come from the larger centres. Thus, though only 5.9% of the total population of Sierra Leone live in Freetown, about a third of the respondents were born there; and another third were born in settlements of under 1,000 people, though three quarters of the total population of Sierra Leone live in such settlements.

TABLE 2.1: Province of interview by Province of birth; and distribution of the total population by Province.

Province of interview	Province of birth					
	North	South	East	West	Outside S.L.	Total
South	1	3	-	1	-	5
	20%	60%		20%		100%
East	18	18	34	4	-	74
	24%	24%	46%	5%		99%
West	31	23	10	102	5	171
	18%	13%	6%	60%	3%	100%
Total	50	44	44	107	5	250
	20%	18%	18%	43%	2%	101%
Total population (000's)	897	542	546	195	-	2,180
	41%	25%	25%	9%		100%

TABLE 2.2: Size of place of birth and place of interview; and distribution of the total population by size.

Size of place of:-	Freetown	over 5,000	1,000-5,000	under 1,000	outside S.L.	Total
Birth	86	32	52	75	5	250
	34%	13%	21%	30%	2%	100%
Interview[1]	136	69	36	9		250
	54%	28%	14%	4%		100%
Total population (000's)	128	155	264	1,633		2,180
	6%	7%	12%	75%		100%

[1] It should be noted that the respondents were categorised according to their place of work, and not their place of resid-

As explained in the previous section, the location of interviews will have influenced the characteristics of the respondents; and this seems to be confirmed by the tables. Thus from Table 2.1 it can be seen that in each Province respondents born in that Province formed the largest group of respondents interviewed there, which partly explains the bias in the sample towards respondents born in the Western Area, as most interviewing was done there. If interviewing had been concentrated in other Provinces, it is likely that the final results would have been rather different. It is more interesting, however, that the second largest group was from the Northern Province, though no interviews were conducted there; and this supports the data in the last chapter which suggested that the sampling procedure was not the dominant factor determining the composition of the sample. Of course, the relatively large proportion of Northerners in the sample does not indicate that they have any educational advantage, for, as was seen above, they are underrepresented relative to their proportion in the total population. Their large numbers in the sample is partly a result of their large numbers in the total population. But it also reflects the high rate of out-mobility from the Northern Province, resulting from its large population and lack of economic opportunities. There

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ence. This does not often make any difference because these are usually the same. There is one important exception to this, however: workers at the Brewery were classified at Wellington, a town of just under 5,000 people, though some of them were actually resident in Freetown. The Brewery, however, is situated at Wellington. Also it may be noted that all workers at S.L.S.T. were classified as if they were working at Yengema (the H.Q. of the company) though some of them had been posted to out-lying pan-plants. Yengema has a population of around 7,000.

seems to be relatively little out-mobility from the Western and Eastern Provinces, on the other hand, probably because most economic development is located in these two Provinces.

Apart from the effects of possible biases in the sample, the data suggest that young people from the Western Province and the larger towns do have an advantage in entering the sub-elite. It is also interesting, however, that despite their underrepresentation relative to their numbers in the total population, a considerable proportion of the sub-elite is recruited from the less privileged sections of society. Thus 55% of the total sample (and even 37% of the sample interviewed in the Western Area) had been born in one of the three Provinces of the former Protectorate; and over half the sample had been born in settlements of under 5,000 people, while less than one fifth of the interviews were conducted in such towns. This indicates that, despite the real advantages possessed by members of the privileged classes, there is still considerable opportunity for social mobility into the sub-elite.

Let us now look at the tribal background of respondents - first at the tribal identities of their parents, which are compared in Table 2.3, and then at their own tribal identities. As can be seen from Table 2.3, Creoles form the largest group of parents (34% of fathers and 32% of mothers), which is consistent with the large proportion of respondents born in the Western Area, for most Creoles are concentrated there. Mendes make up almost one quarter of all parents, and Temnes about one sixth. They

TABLE 2.3: Tribe of father by tribe of mother.

Father's tribe	Mother's tribe														
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	Total
1. Creole	71	1	2	-	-	3	-	-	-	3	-	1	-	5	86
2. Temne	1	35	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	39
3. Mende	-	-	54	-	-	1	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	1	59
4. Limba	-	-	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
5. Loko	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	2
6. Susu	1	1	1	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	9
7. Kono	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
8. Kissi	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
9. Fula	-	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	8
10. Sherbro	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	5
11. Koranko	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
12. Mandingo	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	4	-	1	7
13. Yulunka	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
14. Foreigners	7	-	2	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	5	17
Total	80	41	65	8	1	11	7	3	1	7	1	10	1	14	250

TABLE 2.4: Place of birth of parents and respondents born outside Sierra Leone.

Country	Fathers	Mothers	Respondents
Guinea	11	8	2
Nigeria	9	8	1
Liberia	5	3	1
Ghana	5	1	-
Gambia	1	2	-
England	1	-	1
Lebanon	1	-	-
Total	33	22	5

are therefore underrepresented relative to their large proportions in the total population, though not drastically so, and they have significant numbers in the sample. All other tribes have relatively small numbers in the sample.

One striking feature is the relatively large number of parents born outside Sierra Leone. Thus 7% of fathers and 6% of mothers are from Non-Sierra Leonean tribes; and altogether 13% of fathers and 9% of mothers were born outside Sierra Leone. The largest group of those born outside Sierra Leone were from neighbouring Guinea; and, as they were mainly Fula and Susu, they shared their tribal identity with similar groups within Sierra Leone. A number also came from Liberia, where again there were shared tribal identities, such as Mende and Kru. Parents also came from other former British colonies in West Africa - particularly Nigeria, but also Ghana and the Gambia - and these made up a majority (21/33) of parents of Non-Sierra Leonean

tribes. There were also a significant number of Creole parents (five fathers and five mothers) who were born outside Sierra Leone, particularly in Nigeria (6). These figures indicate the considerable amount of geographical mobility along the West African coast, a point to which I will return in a later chapter.

There is of course a close connection between the tribal identities of respondents and their parents, but they are not necessarily the same. Obviously those respondents with parents of different tribes are faced with special problems of tribal identity, which may involve the repression of the tribal identity of one parent. In the present sample of 250 respondents, 55 people were in this ambiguous position. Of these, eight solved the problem easily by classifying themselves as of mixed tribe. The majority (40/55) took the tribe of their father, perhaps because all tribes in Sierra Leone are patrilineal; but they may also have been influenced by the fact that their father was generally from a higher status group than their mother - e.g. a Creole or a Fula.[1] Of the seven remaining cases - i.e. the exceptional cases in which the mother's tribe was adopted rather than the father's - six were the result of Creole women married to foreign African men, with the children classifying themselves as Creoles because they had been born and brought up in Freetown. The seventh was a girl with a Creole father and

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[1] Harrell-Bond also notes that students at the University of Sierra Leone with Creole mothers and Provincial fathers tend to identify themselves as Creoles; and she attributes this to the status gained from a Creole identity (Harrell-Bond, 1972, p. 193).

Mende mother, who had been fostered by a paternal aunt in Freetown since the age of five years, but who still classified herself as a Mende because she had been born in Bo. This seems a rather unusual case.[1]

It is also possible for people to identify with a tribe which is different from the tribes of either of their parents. At least in the past in Sierra Leone it was possible for educated members of lower status tribes to "pass" as Creoles; and other examples of inter-tribal passing have also been reported.[2] In the present sample, three respondents identified themselves as belonging to a tribe different from either of their parents, but none of these corresponded to the classicial Creole/Tribal passing situation. Two of these respondents classified themselves as first generation Creoles. In one of these cases the respondent's parents were Sierra Leone Yoruba, or Aku - a Muslim group of similar origins to the Creoles - but because his parents could still speak Yoruba, while he himself could only speak Krio, the respondent claimed that he must classify himself as a Creole rather than an Aku. The other self-classified Creole was a girl, both of whose parents were Nigerian, but who had been born and brought up in Freetown. The third case of self classification in a tribe different from both parents was

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1 This respondent has been classified as a Creole for the purpose of subsequent analysis. Her self-classification as a Mende may have resulted from a confusion over the meaning of the term "tribe" in the question - she may have thought that the Creoles do not really constitute a tribe.

2 Examples and references will be given in Chapter 11.

a teacher who called himself a Mende, though both his parents were Susu. In fact the respondent, and both his parents before him, had been born in Mendeland; and the boy had been brought up in a completely Mende environment.

So the general pattern appears to be one in which the tribal identity of the father is adopted, as would be expected in patrilineal tribes; and this tendancy is reinforced, firstly, by the high rate of tribal endogamy - i.e. both parents are normally of the same tribe anyway - and secondly, by the fact that the father usually comes from a higher status tribe than the mother. It is therefore advantageous to take his tribe. But two other factors may influence a person's choice of tribal identity and hence create deviations from this normal pattern, namely place of birth and languages spoken.[1] And as different social situations encourage and permit it, opportunistic passing as a member of another tribe may occur.

The final distribution of respondents by tribe is shown in Table 1.1 in Chapter 1, which allows comparisons with the proportions of the various tribes in the total population of Sierra Leone.[2] Again it can be seen that Creoles were greatly overrepresented, while most of the other tribes were underrep-

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[1] Harrell-Bond also notes that some people take their tribal identity from the predominant tribe in the area where they live, or from the tribe whose language they first learnt, irrespective of the tribe of their parents (Harrell-Bond, 1972, p. 192).

[2] For the purposes of the subsequent analysis it has been necessary to allocate all respondents unequivocally to only one tribe. This was usually done through self-identification; but respondents who said that they were of mixed tribe were allocated according to the rules outlined above.

resented. In fact there were 94 Creoles in the sample - i.e. 37.5% of the total sample - of whom 85 were Christian and nine Muslims (i.e. Akus). This overrepresentation of Creoles was partly a matter of sampling, but it is also an indication of the real educational advantages possessed by them. Relative to children of other tribes, Creoles tend to have come from homes of higher socio-economic status, and with greater appreciation of the value of education; and also geographically they are in the best position to benefit from the concentration of educational facilities in the Western Area. Most other tribes are underrepresented, but the sheer size of the Mende and Temne populations ensures them significant representation in the sample. Mende are better represented than Temne partly because interviewing was conducted in the Southern and Eastern Provinces (Mendeland) but not in the Northern Province (Temneland); but also probably because of the higher average level of education among the Mende. Most Temne in the sample were immigrants to Freetown, and - to a lesser extent - the diamond areas. Other tribes were represented by only small numbers in the sample. There were also ten respondents (4% of the sample) who identified themselves as being Non-Sierra Leonean.[1]

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[1] Their fathers were Nigerian (4), Liberian (2), Ghanaian (1), Gambian (1), Lebanese (1) and English (1).

For some of the later analysis it has been useful to divide the sample into just two groups - Creoles and Non-Creoles. In this dichotomy, those Non-Sierra Leoneans who were born outside Sierra Leone or in the Western Area of Sierra Leone have been amalgamated with the Creoles (6), and those born in the other Provinces with the other tribes of Sierra Leone. This division was felt to be most consistent with their socio-economic characteristics.

Clignet and Foster, in their studies of secondary school students in Ghana and the Ivory Coast, found that girls were much more likely to come from homes of high socio-economic status than boys (Foster, 1965, pp. 235-6, 241-5; Clignet and Foster, 1966, pp. 51-2, 57-9); and the present study lends support to this conclusion. Thus 79% (38) of the females in the present sample were Creoles, 8% (4) were foreigners, and only 13% (6) came from the other indigenous tribes of Sierra Leone. This is partly a result of sampling, as all but two of the female respondents were interviewed in the Western Area; but it also reflects the fact that educated girls tend to come from more socially select backgrounds than boys as, especially among the poorer sections of the community, priority is usually given to the education of males, and the education of girls tends to lag behind. Of course the inclusion of girls in the sample has resulted in a greater bias towards the upper end of the socio-economic scale than if they had been excluded. As a result, the extent of social mobility among Provincial males is partly disguised: looking at male respondents alone, we find that 69% (140/202) were Provincials.

Other useful indicators of the social background of respondents are the educational and occupational levels of their fathers, information on which is presented in Tables 2.5 and 2.6. In Table 2.5 the educational levels of Respondents' fathers can be compared with the educational distribution of all males in the population aged 35 years and older - the pot-

TABLE 2.5: Educational levels of respondents' fathers by Province of birth of respondents; and educational levels of all males aged 35 years and over by Province of enumeration.[1]

Level of education	Province of birth of respondents and enumeration of all males						
	Western Area		Other Provinces		Outside	Total	
	Fathers	All males	Fathers	All males	Sierra Leone	Fathers	All males
None	12 (11%)	21,206 (67%)	99 (72%)	295,934 (96%)	0 (-)	111 (44%)	317,140 (94%)
Primary	20 (19%)	5,424 (17%)	20 (14%)	7,672 (3%)	1 (20%)	41 (16%)	13,096 (4%)
Post-primary	72 (67%)	4,792 (15%)	18 (13%)	3,463 (1%)	4 (80%)	94 (38%)	8,255 (2%)
Don't know	3 (3%)		1 (1%)			4 (2%)	
Total	107 (100%)	31,422 (99%)	138 (100%)	307,069 (100%)	5 (100%)	250 (100%)	338,491 (100%)

[1] The figures for all males aged 35 years and over are drawn from the 1963 Census of Sierra Leone.

ential age limit of fathers[1] - and separate figures are provided for those born in the Western Area and those born elsewhere to allow partial neutralisation of the effects of the imbalance of interviewing between the more developed Western Area and the other Provinces.[2] From these figures it can be seen that the children of educated parents have a much better chance of obtaining Western education than the children of illiterate parents: thus while 54% of the fathers had some Western education, and 38% had some form of post-primary education, this was true of only 6% and 2% respectively of all males aged 35 years and over.[3] This might have resulted from the high proportion of interviews conducted in the Western Area where there is a concentration of educated people. Separate examination of the figures for the Western Area and other Provinces, however, shows that, though sampling probably had some effect, social

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1 A control group of males aged 40 years of age and over would have been preferred, but this was not possible from the census material available.

2 The difference in the proportion of educated people in the Western Area and the other Provinces may be noted: in the Western Area 32% of all males aged 35 years of age and over had some Western education, and 15% had some post-primary education, compared with equivalent figures of only 4% and 1% for those from other Provinces.

3 A more detailed breakdown of these figures is possible. Thus, of those with post-primary education, 29 had been to forms I- III, 46 had been to forms IV- VI, 12 had some form of further education (6 to university), while the exact maximum level of education in the remaining 7 cases is unknown. Of those with primary education only, 8 had less than five years of education and 28 had five or more years, while the level of the remaining 5 cases is in doubt. Of the 111 fathers with no Western education, 48 were said to have attended Arabic school, but it is doubtful if this is a reliable indication of literacy in Arabic.

selectivity exists in both areas. It is particularly marked in the Western Area, where the children of illiterates appeared to have rather a poor chance of gaining a good education. Two thirds of respondents born in the Western Area had fathers with post-primary education, and only about one tenth had fathers with no Western education, despite the fact that two thirds of the total male population aged 35 years and over in the Western Area had never attended school. In the other Provinces, the overrepresentation of children from educated homes is also noticable. However, the proportion of illiterates is so overwhelming in these Provinces (96%) that almost three quarters of respondents had fathers with no Western education. Thus the great majority of respondents born in the Western Area had educated fathers, while most of those born elsewhere had illiterate fathers. It is therefore clear that the extent of social mobility is more significant among the latter than among the former.

A similar picture of social selectivity emerges from examination of the data on fathers' occupations in Table 2.6. It appears that two fifths of fathers were in professional and white collar employment, compared with only 4% of all employed males, this selectivity being found among both Creoles and Provincials (66% and 23% respectively being in professional and white collar employment). A further 13% of fathers were found in manual and unskilled occupations, mainly in the bureaucratic sector of the economy, while another 17% made up a rather mixed category of independent businessmen, traders and self-employed

TABLE 2.6: Occupational levels of respondents' fathers by respondents' tribes;

and occupational distribution of all males in Sierra Leone aged 10 years and over.[1]

Occupational level	Creoles	Provincials	Total fathers	Total males
Professional (including political, administrative, executive, etc.)	13 (13%)	10[2] (7%)	23 (9%)	7,240 (1%)
Upper white collar (teachers, nurses, technical, supervisory)	29 (29%)	11 (7%)	40 (16%)	3,053 (1%)
Lower white collar (clerical, police, army, etc)	24 (24%)	13 (9%)	37 (15%)	12,238 (2%)
Manual (craftsmen, mechanics, drivers, labourers, security men, etc.)	13 (13%)	19 (13%)	32 (13%)	56,631 (10%)
Business (Businessmen, traders, self-employed craftsmen, etc.)	17 (17%)	25 (17%)	42 (17%)	94,640 (16%)
Farmers and fishermen	3 (3%)	71 (47%)	74 (30%)	403,123 (70%)
Other, don't know	1 (1%)	1 (1%)	2 (1%)	
Total	100 (100%)	150 (101%)	250 (101%)	576,925 (100%)

1 The figures for all males aged 10 years and over are drawn from the 1963 Census of Sierra Leone.

2 This figure includes nine Paramount Chiefs.

craftsmen, ranging from rich contractors to tailors and petty traders. The proportion of these middle status categories in the sample corresponded with their representation in the total population. The children of farmers, on the other hand, seemed to be underrepresented, for only 30% of the fathers of respondents were farmers, though farmers constituted 70% of all employed males in Sierra Leone. It is thus obvious that the children of professional and other white collar workers have a better chance of entering the sub-elite than the children of manual workers and traders, and a much better chance than the children of farmers.[1]

It can again be shown that females tend to come from more socially select backgrounds than males. Thus only 6% (3/48) of the fathers of female respondents had never attended school, compared with 53% (108/202) of the fathers of male respondents; and 71% (34/48) of the former fathers had some post-primary education, compared with only 30% (60/202) of the latter fathers. Stratification is also apparent in the occupational levels of fathers: thus 63% (30/48) of the fathers of female respondents were in professional, white collar and technical occupations, compared with only 35% (70/202) of the fathers of

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1 Hurd and Johnson have pointed out that the children of unskilled workers in urban areas are educationally the least privileged section of the population - i.e. they have even less chance of obtaining a secondary or higher level of education than the children of farmers - and Foster's data point to a similar result (Hurd and Johnson, 1967, p. 73; Foster, 1965, p. 241). In the present sample, 11 respondents were the children of unskilled non-agricultural labourers or other unskilled workers; but unfortunately it was not possible to obtain a comparable figure for the proportion of such workers in the total labour force.

male respondents; and 36% (73/202) of the latter fathers were farmers, compared with only 2% (1/48) of the former fathers. Thus the educational disadvantages suffered by the daughters of farmers are particularly apparent. Generally these variations may be explained in terms of the timelag in female education.

In summary, then, it can be said that certain socio-economic groups are overrepresented in the sample relative to other groups, and, though this may be partially a result of the sampling procedure which caused the sample to be unrepresentative of the sub-elite as a whole, it is argued that this is mainly caused by differential opportunities of access to the sub-elite open to various sections of the population. Thus the children of high status parents have a greater chance of entering the sub-elite than those of lower status parents. For example, it was shown that the children of Creoles are overrepresented in the sample relative to young people of other tribes. This results partly from the geographical advantage of living in the Western Area where many educational institutions - particularly of a higher level - are concentrated; and partly from the traditional enthusiasm for education among the Creoles. But also important is the fact that Creole parents are on average of higher socio-economic status than Provincial parents, and thus have more resources available with which to provide for the education of their children. The differences in average status between Creole and Provincial parents can be seen clearly from Tables 2.6 and 2.7. Thus practically all Creole

TABLE 2.7: Tribe of father by educational level of father.

	Educational level									
Tribe	None		Primary		Secondary		Don't know		Total	
Creole	0	(-)	14	(16%)	68	(79%)	4	(5%)	86	(100%)
Temne	31	(79%)	3	(8%)	5	(13%)			39	(100%)
Mende	42	(71%)	13	(22%)	4	(7%)			59	(100%)
Limba	6	(86%)	1	(14%)	0	(-)			7	(100%)
Loko	1	(50%)	1	(50%)	0	(-)			2	(100%)
Susu	6	(67%)	2	(22%)	1	(11%)			9	(100%)
Kono	6	(86%)	0	(-)	1	(14%)			7	(100%)
Kissi	2	(100%)	0	(-)	0	(-)			2	(100%)
Fula	7	(87%)	0	(-)	1	(13%)			8	(100%)
Sherbro	4	(80%)	0	(-)	1	(20%)			5	(100%)
Koranko	1	(100%)	0	(-)	0	(-)			1	(100%)
Mandingo	2	(29%)	2	(29%)	3	(43%)			7	(101%)
Yulunka	1	(100%)	0	(-)	0	(-)			1	(100%)
Other	2	(12%)	5	(29%)	10	(59%)			17	(100%)
Total	111	(44%)	41	(16%)	94	(38%)	4	(2%)	250	(100%)

Fathers (at least 95%) had attended school, compared with only about one quarter (26%) of fathers from other Sierra Leonean tribes;[1] and two thirds of Creole fathers were in professional and white collar employment, compared with less than one quarter of Provincial fathers. The socio-economic level of a

[1] And the Creoles usually go to secondary school, while the Provincials only reach primary.

TABLE 2.8: Comparison of the characteristics of the elite and the sub-elite.[1]

	Elite		Sub-elite	
Creoles	100	(64%)	94	(38%)
Born in the Western Area	79	(50%)	107	(43%)
Literate fathers	124	(79%)	135	(54%)
Fathers with post-primary education	99	(63%)	94	(38%)
Total	157		250	

[1] The figures on the elite are from Harrell-Bond (1972, pp. 84, 86, and 91). As Harrell-Bond does not always give the absolute figures it has sometimes been necessary to obtain these by working back from the percentages.

child's parents is probably one of the most important variables influencing that child's educational future, and hence its ultimate level in the social structure. The children of well-off parents are likely to retain or even improve their social position, while those of lower status parents have a relatively poor chance of being socially mobile.

Harrell-Bond's data on university graduates in Sierra Leone show that there is even greater social selectivity among the elite than among the sub-elite. As her sample was a random one, drawn from a relatively complete universe of Sierra Leonean graduates working within the country, it should not suffer from the biases found in the present sub-elite sample; and on these grounds might be expected to include a higher proportion of respondents from lower status, Provincial backgrounds. The reverse

is true, however, as can be seen from Table 2.8: thus about two thirds of the elite were Creoles, compared with less than two fifths of the sub-elite; and over three quarters of the fathers of elite members had attended school, compared with just over half of the fathers of the sub-elite. It is possible that some of this effect may result from increasingly open access to education over time, as members of the elite sample are, on average, slightly older than members of the sub-elite sample; but it is probably because the social structure is progressively more selective at its higher levels.[1] Thus, though it is difficult to be socially mobile from the lower socio-economic strata into the sub-elite, it is even more difficult to enter the elite itself: there is a tendency for the upper groups to be self-recruiting. The pattern of recruitment into the elite and the sub-elite seems to be similar to that found in the systems of social stratification in industrialised societies.

There is another side to this, however. As has been pointed out previously, quite a high proportion of the elite and sub-elite is in fact recruited from the lower strata - for example, three fifths of the sub-elite come from the indigenous tribes of Sierra Leone, and over two fifths had fathers with no Western education. This contrasting perspective suggests a rel-

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[1] The average age of males in the elite sample was 38 years, and of females was 34 years. Another possible cause of the variation is that the elite sample contained a higher proportion of females, and females tend to come from more select socio-economic backgrounds than males. Examination of the figures on males and females separately, however, shows that this has not been a significant factor in causing the variation.

atively high rate of social mobility into the sub-elite. The explanation of this apparent inconsistency is to be found in the nature of the occupational structure, as well as in the perspective adopted. Sierra Leone, like many developing societies, has a small but expanding elite and sub-elite, and a vast mass of peasantry. The expansion of the upper strata allows the children of elite and sub-elite parents to retain and even improve their socio-economic positions, while the children of lower status parents can also be absorbed. This gives the impression of a high rate of social mobility; but it should be noted that it is only the rate of social mobility into the elite and sub-elite which is high. There is relatively little downward mobility; and if the rate of mobility was measured out of the masses rather than into the elite it would in fact appear very small. Thus a relatively high proportion of individuals with low status backgrounds occupying high status positions in society is quite consistent with a considerable degree of inequality of opportunity, and a generally low rate of social mobility. In fact, this is probably the usual pattern in developing societies.

The socio-economic characteristics of respondents' siblings.

Inequality in the distribution of educational and occupational opportunities can be further illustrated by data on the educational and occupational characteristics of the respondents' brothers and sisters. This can supplement the picture already obtained in two particular respects. Firstly, it should allow a preliminary estimate of the extent and nature of downward

TABLE 2.9: Number of siblings.

	None	1	2	3 - 5	6 - 15	over 15	D.K.
Total siblings	6	11	19	90	93	28	3
	2%	4%	8%	36%	37%	11%	1%
Full siblings	42	32	34	84	42	1	15
	17%	13%	14%	34%	17%	-	6%

social mobility. A corollary of the pattern of social mobility described in the last section is that, though there may be considerable social mobility in an upward direction, there need be comparatively little downward mobility. As explained in the introduction to this chapter, it is not possible to test this using the data on the sub-elite, but examination of the data on their siblings may prove useful.[1] Secondly, the data on respondents siblings will allow an assessment of the distribution of opportunities for higher education, particularly at university. Is the pattern of inequality between various socio-economic groups in their access to secondary education reproduced at this higher level? Harrell-Bond's data on the elite suggest that it is; and the present information on respondents' siblings allows a further test of this.

Obviously such data are only available on respondents who had siblings. From Table 2.9 it can be seen that practically all respondents had siblings, though probably abput one fifth had

[1] Hurd and Johnson use a similar index to gain an impression of the rate of downward mobility in Ghana.(Hurd and Johnson, 1967, p. 59.)

no full siblings. Provincials were particularly likely to have a large total number of siblings, and this of course is associated with the institution of polygynous marriage, which is mainly confined to the Provincial section of the population; while Creoles had on average a larger number of full siblings.[1] In calculating the proportions of respondents with siblings having reached a given level of education, we are of course only interested in those respondents with siblings old enough to have reached this level: thus the basis of such calculations will be the 242 respondents with siblings old enough to have attended primary school, the 233 with siblings old enough to have attended secondary school, and the 209 with siblings old enough to have had some form of further education.

Comparing the educational level of respondents with that of all their siblings (both full and half), it was found that rather less than one quarter (54/233) of respondents were better educated than <u>all</u> their siblings, almost half (109/233) were better educated than <u>all or most</u> of their siblings, while most of the remainder had an <u>average</u> education compared with their siblings (109/233).[2] Only 7% (15/233) of respondents were worse off

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[1] This may be illustrated with figures: thus, only 6% (6/100) of Creoles had over ten siblings in all, compared with 28% (41/150) of Provincials; but in terms of full siblings one third (33/100) of Creoles had over four siblings, compared with only about one quarter (35/150) of Provincials. The tendency of polygyny to increase total siblings but reduce full siblings is particularly marked among Paramount Chiefs: thus none of the nine sons of Paramount Chiefs in the sample had more than four full siblings, though eight had over ten siblings in all, and four had over 15. One claimed his father had 50 wives and over 60 children.

[2] Information was collected in the interviews on the numbers,

TABLE 2.10: Proportion of siblings with primary, secondary, and further education.

Educational level	Proportion of siblings				
	All	Most	Some	None	Total
Primary	136	32	53	21	242
	56%	13%	22%	9%	100%
Secondary	101	30	50	52	233
	43%	13%	21%	22%	99%
Further	16	11	40	142	209
	8%	5%	19%	68%	100%

in terms of education than <u>all</u> their siblings. Once again there is a clear distinction between Creoles and Provincials, for while the former tended to come from families in which education was general, the latter were very often among the first in their families to have attended school. Respondents who were worse off than <u>all</u> their siblings were nearly all Creoles (13/15) - i.e. from the best educated group - and a similarly small proportion of Creoles (12/94) were better off than <u>all</u> their siblings; but about three quarters (69/94) of them had an average education compared with their siblings. Among Provincials, on the other hand, well over one third (52/139) were better educated than <u>all</u> their siblings, another third (45/139) were better educated than <u>most</u> of their siblings, while the majority of others (40/139) had an average education compared with their siblings.

sexes, ages, educational levels, and occupational levels of the respondents' siblings; but the ranking of educational and occupational levels was carried out later by the research worker.

A more detailed picture of the distribution of education at the different levels can be obtained from Table 2.10. From this it can be seen that, as would be expected, primary education is more widely diffused than higher levels of education: so, whereas 56% of respondents said that all their relevant siblings had primary education and only 9% had no siblings with primary education, only 8% said that all their relevant siblings had some form of further education, while 68% said that none of their siblings had further education.

Again there is a clear difference between Creoles and Provincials in the educational levels of their siblings. At the primary level education is nearly universal among Creoles,[1] but among Provincials only 30% (43/146) had all their siblings at primary school, compared with 20% (29/146) who had most, 36% (53/146) who had some, and 14% (21/146) who had none of their siblings even to the level of primary school. Similarly at the secondary level, large differences appear: thus four fifths of relevant Creole respondents claimed that all their siblings who were old enough had attended secondary school (75/94), compared with only one sixth (20/120) of Provincials; and two fifths (49/120) of the latter had no siblings who had been to secondary school, compared with practically none of the Creoles (1/94).

The differences which occur at the level of further education are particularly interesting. About half (41/84) of

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[1] There were only two Creoles in the sample who appeared to have siblings who had not attended primary school; and of these, one was an Aku, and the other the child of a Creole father and a Mandingo mother.

the Creoles with siblings of the appropriate age had at least some siblings with further education, compared with only about one fifth (26/125) of Provincials. It may also be noted that there is a difference in the type of further education possessed by Creoles and Provincials, with Creoles having their greatest advantage in the more prestigious types of further education. Thus they were particularly prominent in overseas education, 37% (31/84) of the relevant Creole respondents having siblings with further education overseas, compared with only 8% (10/125) of Provincial respondents.[1] Creoles and Provincials do not seem to differ significantly in their access to opportunities for further education locally, roughly a fifth of the respondents in each case having siblings with further education in Sierra Leone; but the Creoles seemed more likely to go to Fourah Bay College, while the Provincials more commonly had teacher training experience.[2]

Within the Creole and Provincial groups there were also variations in educational level of siblings according to the socio-economic status of the parents. Among Creoles, the difference was most marked at the level of further education,

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1 This would appear to confirm other evidence on the predominance of Creoles in overseas education. Thus Jordan found in 1969 that of the 86 scholarships awarded by the government of international bodies for studies overseas, 55 went to Creoles (Jordan, 1971, p. 27). In a non-random sample of 20 Sierra Leonean students in Edinburgh and Manchester in 1969/70, I found that all but three were Creoles.

2 In 1968 Harrell-Bond found that 57% of students at Fourah Bay College were Creoles (Harrell-Bond, 1972, p. 85). This figure is probably inflated, however, by the overrepresentation of girls in her sample; and in the session 1968/9 I found that of students born in Sierra Leone, only 46% had been born in the Western Area where Creoles are concentrated. (Bond's figures refer to Sierra Leonean students only).

for lower levels of education were almost universal. Creoles with fathers of high socio-economic status were most likely to have siblings with further education overseas, and least likely to have no siblings with further education. A similar disparity existed at all educational levels among Provincials. Provincials who had attended school seemed to give their children an educational advantage over the children of illiterate Provincials: thus three fifths (9/15) of Provincial fathers with post-primary education sent all their children to primary school, and all of them sent most of their children to primary school; but only 65% (15/23) of Provincial fathers with primary education only, and only 38% (41/108) of illiterate Provincial fathers managed to send even most of their children to primary school. Only respondents with illiterate fathers had no siblings with Western education (21/108). At the other end of the educational scale, half (7/14) of the respondents with post-primary-educated fathers had siblings with further education, compared with one quarter (4/16) of those with primary-educated fathers, and only about one sixth (15/95) of the children of illiterate fathers.[1] Among the latter, all but one were the children of chiefs, sub-chiefs or other important men, or related to such "big men".

Other evidence also suggests that the children of chiefs have an educational advantage over the children of commoners, thus supporting Kilson's contention that there is considerable continuity between the traditional and the modern elites

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[1] In terms of absolute numbers, of course, more children of illiterate than of educated parents appear to have siblings with further education.

in Sierra Leone (Kilson, 1966).[1] Thus while two fifths (42/100) of the children of Provincial commoners in the sample were better educated than all their siblings, this was true of none of the children of Paramount Chiefs, and only one third of the children of sub-chiefs and elders (10/30). While about one seventh (21/146) of all Provincials had no siblings with primary education, and over one quarter (51/139) had no siblings with secondary education, all the children of Paramount Chiefs had siblings with both primary and secondary education. On the other hand, children of commoners more frequently had all their siblings having attended school, probably because chiefs, with their large numbers of children, are not willing or able to send them all to school.

The difference between chiefs and commoners is even clearer at the level of further education; and at this level it is apparent that the real advantage lies with the children of Paramount Chiefs rather than with the children of lesser chiefs. Only one of the nine sons of Paramount Chiefs had no siblings with further education, compared with about 84% (98/116) of the children of other Provincials. Of the eight sons of Paramount Chiefs on whom sufficient information is available, four (50%) had siblings with further education overseas, three (38%) had siblings who had been to Fourah Bay or Njala, and two (25%) had siblings with teacher training experience, while corresponding figures for other Provincials are 5% (6/116), 3% (4/116) and 8% (9/116), with another 3% having other forms of further education. It may be noted that

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[1] The best known examples of this continuity are the half-brothers Milton and Albert Margai, whose father was a Paramount Chief; and who became respectively the first doctor and the first lawyer from the Provinces, and later the first and second prime ministers of Sierra Leone.

whereas the children of Paramount Chiefs most commonly had siblings with further education overseas - i.e. the most prestigious form of further education - among the children of commoners, teacher training was the most usual form of further education. Thus the children of chiefs may be seen to have a clear educational advantage over the children of commoners. It should be remembered, however, that in terms of absolute numbers rather than percentages the number of Paramount Chiefs' children with siblings having further education was only about half the number of other children with siblings having further education - i.e. 8 as against 18. A more exact calculation of the relative advantage of children of chiefs and commoners would require the actual numbers of siblings with further education to be known; and, with reference to this, it should be remembered that chiefs tend to have more children than commoners. However, the fact that the child of a chief has a better chance of achieving a good education than the child of a commoner is not in doubt.

The educational levels of siblings are also related to various geographical factors, such as Province and size of place of birth. Although it is not possible to analyse these variations in detail, a few of the more important points may be mentioned briefly here. Firstly, as might be expected, the siblings of respondents from the Western Area showed the highest average level of education, while those from the Northern Province showed the lowest. Only 7% (7/106) of respondents born in the Western Area were better educated than <u>all</u> their siblings, compared with half

(23/46) of those born in the North. Secondly, the Eastern and Southern Provinces occupy an intermediate position, but their patterns appear to be rather different, for while the Southern Province, with its long tradition of education, seems to have a greater diffusion of primary and secondary education, respondents from the Eastern Province, perhaps because of its new prosperity, did rather better in obtaining higher education, particularly at University level. Finally, those from the larger towns appeared to have a clear advantage over those from the villages, for only 27% (29/108) of respondents born in towns of over 5,000 people were better educated than all or most of their siblings, compared with 68% (80/117) of those from smaller settlements. An interesting deviation from this expected pattern occurs among Provincial respondents, however, for it appears that those from medium sized towns had an advantage not only over those from smaller settlements, but also over those from Freetown, which may support the contention by Hurd and Johnson that the urban proletariat is the least privileged section of the population (Hurd and Johnson, 1967, p. 73).[1]

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[1] This is particularly marked at the level of higher education. Thus 92% (12/13) of Provincial respondents born in Freetown had no siblings with further education, compared with 63% (12/19) of those from other towns with a population of more than 5,000, and 80% (75/94) of those born in smaller settlements. In their samples of secondary school students in the Ivory Coast and Ghana, Clignet and Foster also found that those from medium sized towns had a slightly better chance of entering secondary school than those from the largest towns (Clignet and Foster, 1966, p. 55; Foster, 1965, p. 245). In the present sample, however, when Creoles are included, those born in Freetown appear best off, though the difference between them and other respondents born in towns of more than 5,000 people is slight, 56% (40/72) of the former having no siblings with further education, compared with 58% (15/26) of the latter. The advantages of the Freetown populat-

Similar information is also available on the occupations of respondents' siblings; but only a brief analysis of this, highlighting the differences between Creoles and Provincials, is possible here. It was estimated that in terms of occupational status, two fifths (68/167) of respondents were better off than all their siblings, one sixth (26/167) were better off than most of their siblings, another two fifths (71/167) were on the average among their siblings, while only 1% (2/167) were worse off than all or most of their siblings. But while three quarters (53/71) of Creoles had an average occupational status compared with their siblings, among Provincials three fifths (58/96) were better off than all their siblings, and another one fifth (20/96) were better off than most of their siblings, leaving only another fifth (18/96) who were on the average with their siblings. In short, Creoles tended to come from sibling groups in which elite or sub-elite occupations were the norm, whereas most Provincials had been socially mobile not only relative to their parents, but also relative to the majority of their siblings.

Detailed figures of the proportions of respondents with siblings in various occupational categories are given in Table 2.11. It will be noticed that the largest proportion of respondents (almost three quarters) had siblings who were school children or students. This is followed by a white collar category, which includes clerical workers and teachers, and in which 45% of

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ion are demonstrated in the facts that a higher proportion of them have all or most of their siblings possessing further education, and a higher proportion of them have siblings with university or overseas forms of further education.

TABLE: 2.11: Proportion of respondents with siblings in various occupational categories.

Occupations	Creoles		Provincials		Total	
Professional, administrative, managerial	6	(6%)	3	(2%)	9	(4%)
White collar (including teaching)	58	(61%)	45	(33%)	103	(45%)
Technical, supervisory	10	(11%)	5	(4%)	15	(7%)
Skilled and semi-skilled manual, other routine	20	(21%)	29	(21%)	49	(21%)
Unskilled manual	0	(-)	5	(4%)	5	(2%)
Agricultural	0	(-)	45	(33%)	45	(20%)
Business, trade	6	(6%)	30	(22%)	36	(16%)
School, college, etc.	78	(82%)	90	(67%)	168	(73%)
Total	95		135		230	

respondents had siblings. About a fifth of respondents had siblings in skilled and semi-skilled manual occupations and routine non-manual occupations; another fifth in agriculture; 16% in business, trade, or other independent employment (including traditional crafts); 7% in technical and supervisory positions; 4% in professional, administrative and managerial positions; and 2% in unskilled manual employment. It may be noted that siblings in employment in the modern sector of the economy tended to be concentrated in positions of intermediate level - e.g. in white collar, skilled and semi-skilled occupations - which does suggest some grouping of members of the same family in terms of occupational

status. Relatively few respondents appeared to have siblings in either professional, administrative and managerial positions, at one end of the social scale, or in unskilled manual occupations at the other. The relatively small number of respondents appearing to have siblings in the latter category may partly result from an unwillingness among respondents to admit to having siblings in this category, but it also suggests that families which are able to give at least some of their members a good secondary education are also able to raise most of their other members above the level of unskilled labourers. It may then be concluded that, though quite a high proportion of respondents had siblings in lower status traditional occupations, such as farming and trading, the majority of their siblings in the modern sector tended to be grouped in the intermediate levels.

Examination of Table 2.11 shows a clear difference between Creoles and Provincials. Thus the siblings of Creoles were concentrated in only a few occupational categories, while the siblings of Provincials had a much more varied occupational distribution. In particular, 61% of Creoles had siblings in white collar employment, compared with only 33% of Provincials; while one third of Provincials had siblings in farming and one fifth had siblings in business or trade, compared with very small proportions of Creoles. This suggests that relatively few Creoles had siblings who had been downwardly mobile relative to either themselves or their parents; while Provincial respondents had siblings both in similar occupational categories to themselves - i.e. who had usually also been socially mobile - and also in the farming and trad-

TABLE 2.12: Proportion of respondents with male siblings in various occupational categories.

Occupations	Creoles		Provincials		Total	
Professional, administrative, managerial	6	(7%)	3	(2%)	9	(4%)
White Collar (including teaching)	34	(38%)	42	(33%)	76	(35%)
Technical, supervisory	9	(10%)	5	(4%)	14	(6%)
Skilled and semi-skilled manual, other routine	18	(20%)	29	(23%)	47	(22%)
Unskilled manual	0	(-)	5	(4%)	5	(2%)
Agricultural	0	(-)	39	(31%)	39	(18%)
Business, trade	2	(2%)	22	(17%)	24	(11%)
School, college, etc.	65	(72%)	82	(65%)	147	(68%)
Total	90		126		216	

ing categories containing their parents. This would appear to confirm that the mobility norm is either stability or upward social mobility relative to one's parents; and that downward mobility is relatively rare. For a more detailed analysis of the pattern of social mobility, the number of siblings in each occupational category would have to be taken into account. This might make it even clearer that while the majority of the siblings of Creoles were in white collar employment, only a small proportion of the siblings of Provincials had reached this level.

It should be noted that part of the difference between

Creoles and Provincials results from the especially under-privileged position of Provincial females. Thus, when the figures for male siblings only are examined, as in Table 2.12, the difference between Creoles and Provincials is considerably reduced, especially in the white collar category; thus only 38% of Creole respondents had male siblings in white collar occupations, compared with 33% of Provincials. It thus appears that the much higher proportion of Creoles with any siblings in white collar employment results from the many Creoles with sisters in such jobs, while very few Provincials had sisters who were sufficiently educated to obtain such white collar employment. It should be noted, however, that even in terms of male siblings only, the great majority of respondents with siblings in farming and trading were Provincials; and while Creoles were likely to have the majority of their siblings in white collar employment, Provincials were likely to have only a few, with the others in traditional occupations such as farming and trading.

What then do the data on siblings tell us that will further our understanding of the process of social mobility in Sierra Leone? Firstly, it confirms that different socio-economic groups have different degrees of access to education; and, in particular, it shows that a higher proportion of the siblings of respondents whose fathers were Creoles, educated Provincials, or chiefs were educated than of the siblings of respondents whose fathers were Provincials, and in particular illiterate Provincials or commoners. Secondly, it shows that these differences are es-

pecially marked at the level of further education, with the children of Creoles, educated Provincials and chiefs not only being more likely than others to obtain further education, but also to obtain the more prestigious forms of it. Thirdly, the differences between groups were particularly noticeableamong females, for while quite a large number of males from lower status groups obtained enough education to secure white collar employment, this was true of very few females from these groups. This reflected the priority given to the education of males in such lower status groups. Fourthly, while quite a large number of respondents from lower status groups appeared to have been socially mobile relative to their parents, very few of the children of higher status parents seemed to have a lower level of education than their parents, or even to have failed to achieve a similar occupational level. This would support the prediction that there is very little downward mobility in developing societies such as Sierra Leone. Finally, there seems to be a tendancy for siblings to be grouped at similar educational and occupational levels. This is particularly true of the Creoles; while among Provincials siblings tend to be divided between similar jobs in the modern sector of the economy and traditional jobs, such as farming and trading - very few respondents had siblings who were unskilled manual workers. This, together with the overall pattern of social mobility, has implications for the emerging pattern of social stratification which will be discussed at a later stage in this thesis.

Secondary school leavers in the labour force.

It is also possible to assess the distribution of educational and occupational opportunities in Sierra Leone by analysing the social composition of the labour forces of a number of firms on which data are available. Such information was collected on three firms in the Western Area, namely the United Africa Company (U.A.C.), Auriel Tobacco Company (A.T.C.), and Sierra Leone Brewery (S.L.B.), and from Sierra Leone Selection Trust (S.L.S.T.) in the Eastern Province.[1] From these data it will be possible to test the conclusions of the two previous sections that educational, and hence occupational, opportunities are unevenly distributed in Sierra Leone; and, in particular, that Creoles and those born in the Western Area are more privileged than others in obtaining a good education, and hence the best jobs. Apart from confirming this general picture of the distribution of educational and occupational opportunities in Sierra Leone, the material in this section should supplement the basic data on secondary school leavers in three main respects. Firstly, it should allow a comparison of the socio-economic origins of members of the sub-elite with those of other members of the labour force - e.g. the illiterate labouring classes. Secondly, it should allow a comparison of the characteristics of the younger members of the

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[1] The figures in this section are based on a survey of all personnel records for non-managerial and supervisory staff at the four companies in 1968 or 1969; and are made up of 641 cases at U.A.C., 255 at A.T.C., 199 at S.L.B., and 4088 at S.L.S.T. Due to certain technicalities of record-keeping these figures do not always correspond exactly with the number of employees at a particular time. The two totals are very close, however, in all cases except A.T.C. At A.T.C. the number of records utilized was much lower than the total number of employees, partly because of the exclusion of workers working outside the Western Area, and partly because there were no records for some daily-paid workers.

sub-elite - i.e. those included in the sample - with those of the older members; and hence an assessment of changes occurring in the composition of the sub-elite over time. Thirdly, it should allow a comparison of labour recruitment in firms located in contrasting growth-poles at opposite ends of the country, namely in the Western Area and in the Eastern Province.

We may first turn to an examination of the social characteristics of workers in the three companies in the Western Area. These may conveniently be considered together, though there are a number of significant differences in the compositions of their labour forces. For example, in the mainly commercial United Africa Company, about half (301/641) of all employees were in white collar occupations, while in each of the other two industrial concerns only about one fifth (41/199) and 48/255) of employees were in such occupations, while most of the other workers were in various grades of manual employment. In addition, U.A.C. was the only firm to employ a significant proportion of female workers, a quarter (165/641) of all its employees being women; and, as might be expected, these were mainly found in white collar occupations (135/165). The other firms had fewer white collar jobs suitable for women, but, in any case, they seemed to have a less positive attitude to the employment of women, having only half a dozen female employees between them. The main area of interest here, however, is not in the variations between the firms, but rather in the variations between different educational and occupational categories of workers; and we may now pass on to this.

TABLE 2.13: Tribe of workers at U.A.C., A.T.C. and S.L.B. by educational level.

Tribe	Educational level							
	None		Primary		Secondary		Total	
Creole	1	(-)	26	(9%)	257	(91%)	284	(100%)
Temne	92	(48%)	43	(22%)	57	(30%)	192	(100%)
Mende	39	(23%)	50	(29%)	84	(49%)	173	(101%)
Limba	85	(70%)	14	(11%)	23	(19%)	122	(100%)
Loko	29	(69%)	9	(21%)	4	(10%)	42	(100%)
Susu	10	(36%)	11	(39%)	7	(25%)	28	(100%)
Kono	2	(67%)	0	(-)	1	(33%)	3	(100%)
Kissi	4	(40%)	2	(20%)	4	(40%)	10	(100%)
Fula	45	(80%)	3	(5%)	8	(14%)	56	(99%)
Sherbro	4	(12%)	7	(21%)	23	(68%)	34	(101%)
Koranko	5	(100%)	0	(-)	0	(-)	5	(100%)
Mandingo	5	(23%)	9	(41%)	8	(36%)	22	(100%)
Yulunka	1	(100%)	0	(-)	0	(-)	1	(100%)
Other	5	(13%)	16	(41%)	18	(46%)	39	(100%)
Don't know	16	(19%)	15	(18%)	53	(63%)	84	(100%)
Total	343	(31%)	205	(19%)	547	(50%)	1,095	(100%)

Of particular interest here is the relationship between social and geographical background and educational attainment. Details of the relationship between tribe and education are given in Table 2.13, which, as would be expected, indicates a strong correlation between tribe and education. Thus Creoles are clearly

the most educated tribe, 91% of them having secondary education, followed by Sherbros and foreigners. Mendes are also fairly well educated, with less than one quarter having no education, and almost half having some form of post-primary education. The Temne also hold an intermediate position, but well behind the Mende. This reflects not only the higher average level of education in the Mende tribe as a whole, but also the fact that it is mainly the better educated and more skilled Mende who migrate to Freetown, while both educated and illiterate Temne migrate from the North. They may be influenced in this by the lack of alternative economic opportunities in the North, and also by the closer historical links between Freetown and the North, for it is usually believed that traditionally Freetown was part of Temneland. In fact the proportion of Temne to Mende migrants in Freetown may be much higher than the figures here suggest, for while Mende prefer skilled employment in bureaucratic firms of the type being examined here, many Temnes work independently, for example as taxi-drivers and small traders.[1] The Limba, loko, Fula and other Northern tribes had a low average level of education.

Analysis of the places of birth of respondents relative to their educational levels reveals a similar picture. The larg-

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[1] The figures in Table 2.13 may be compared with those in Table 2.7 showing the educational levels of respondents' fathers by tribe. It appears that in the two Tables the tribes are in approximately the same order according to their average levels of education, but that overall the workers of Table 2.13 had a higher average level of education than the fathers of Table 2.7. This may be explained in terms of the lower average age of the former, and their urban residence, compared with the rural residence of many of the latter.

TABLE 2.14: Province of birth of workers at U.A.C., A.T.C., and S.L.B. by level of education.

Province of birth	Level of education			
	None	primary	post-primary	Total
North	168	43	63	274
	(64%)	(23%)	(12%)	(28%)
South	38	49	89	176
	(14%)	(26%)	(17%)	(18%)
East	12	10	23	45
	(5%)	(5%)	(4%)	(5%)
West	18	75	323	416
	(7%)	(40%)	(62%)	(43%)
Outside Sierra Leone	26	11	21	58
	(10%)	(6%)	(4%)	(6%)
Total known[1]	262	188	519	969
	(100%)	(100%)	(99%)	(100%)
Don't know	81	17	28	126
Total	343	205	547	1,095

[1] Percentages are calculated on the basis of the total known figures.

est group of workers (43%) were born in the Western Area - 301 in Freetown itself and 115 in the rest of the Western Rural Area - and they show a high average level of education. Thus only four percent of workers born in the Western Area had never been to school; and those born in the West formed 62% of workers with secondary or other post-primary education. The Northern Province,

on the other hand, which also provides a substantial part of the labour force in the Western Area (28%), was the main reservoir of uneducated and unskilled workers. Particularly important are the districts of Bombali, providing 105 workers, and Port Loko, providing 81, which are in fact the two largest districts in the Northern Province. Table 2.14 shows that 64% of uneducated workers were born in the North.

The Southern and Eastern Provinces, on the other hand, provided smaller proportions of the labour force, and most workers from these Provinces were educated. As suggested above, the higher level of education in the Southern Province as a whole may explain this fact. The low propensity to migrate to Freetown among those from the Eastern Province may be explained in terms of the greater distance from the Eastern Province to Freetown, and the alternative employment opportunities, especially for unskilled workers, provided by the booming diamond industry. Diamond mining, however, does not provide so many opportunities for educated personnel, and so some of these are attracted to bureaucratic jobs in Freetown, especially if they had first left home to attend school. These considerations may also apply to the more Easterly parts of the Southern Province, which also contain diamonds, and are closer to the main diamond fields of the Eastern Province than to Freetown. So, to summarise the pattern of labour recruitment in the Western Area, it appears that the Western Area can provide much of its own educated manpower, though it also draws on the educated sections of the population in the other three Provinces. For

unskilled labour, however, it relies mainly on immigrants, especially from the adjacent Northern Province, which is not only the closest, but also the largest and least developed of the four Provinces of Sierra Leone.

A similar picture emerges from an examination of the relationship between tribe and occupational status among workers at the three companies in the Western Area. Creoles predominated in white collar occupations: two thirds (191/284) of all Creoles were in clerical or sales work; and they constituted about half (191/392) of all such workers, though they made up only about one quarter (284/1095) of the total labour force. The majority of the remaining Creoles (49) - many of them women - were semi-skilled workers; and only 4% (11/284) of Creoles were classified as unskilled workers. Of the other tribes, only about one quarter (201/811) were in white collar occupations. The Mende and Temne tribes were of intermediate occupational status, with the Mende having some advantage: thus one third of Mende (60/173) and less than one quarter of Temne (44/193) were in white collar occupations; while one quarter of Mende (43/173) and two fifths of Temne (80/193) were in unskilled occupations. The remainder were mainly in skilled and semi-skilled occupations. The Limba, Loko and Fula were concentrated in lower status occupations: of these three tribes only about one tenth (25/220) were in white collar occupations, and 17% (38/220) were in skilled and semi-skilled occupations, while 71% (157/220) were in unskilled manual occupations. The Limba, Loko, Temne, Mende and Fula together provide three quarters (280/368) of all unskilled workers.[1]

The special position of women in the labour force should also be mentioned. Nearly all female employees (162/170) had secondary education, while the rest had primary education; and most had been born in the Western Area (142/170), with others coming mainly from either the Southern Province (11), or outside Sierra Leone (9). The high level of education of female workers is congruent with the fact that the majority of them were employed in white collar positions. Even those females employed in semi-skilled jobs, however, were more educated than their male counterparts, which suggests that such jobs mainly provide employment for a surplus of female school leavers in the Freetown Area. Apparently they do not attract many female immigrants from elsewhere; and it seems that at present there is little chance for uneducated women to obtain employment in the bureaucratic sector of the economy. Thus, because of the limited diffusion of education among females in the Provinces, few Provincial females can be expected in such employment.

We can now pass to an examination of the composition of the labour force of Sierra Leone Selection Trust, the largest mining company in Sierra Leone. Apart from its headquarters in the Kono District, the company has about a dozen processing plants in various parts of Kono and Kenema Districts, each with adjacent mining sites. Comparison of the labour force of S.L.S.T. with those of the three firms in the Western Area reveals that it is more like

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1 The actual numbers of unskilled workers from each tribe are 82, 34, 80, 43 and 41 respectively.

the industrial firms than the commercial one, though it is even more extreme than the former. Very few females were employed, and white collar employees made up only 6% (254/4088) of the labour force, while unskilled workers made up over half (2127/4088). Apart from labourers, many of these unskilled men were security guards who were employed to protect the diamond fields from illegal diggers. Most of the other workers were in various grades of manual employment. Drivers made up 14% (560/4088) of all workers; and this category ranged from dragline and bulldozer operators to security drivers and staff-car chauffeurs.

We may first compare the educational levels of S.L.S.T. employees with their tribal affiliations and places of birth. As can be seen from Table 2.15, the local Eastern Province provided a much higher proportion of the illiterate labour force (71%) than of the primary (48%) or post-primary (42%) educated labour force, though even in these latter categories those born in the East formed the largest groups. This is particularly noticeable among the local Konos, 83% (1028/1239) of whom were without education, and among the neighbouring Kissis, 91% (197/217) of whom were illiterate. In contrast, migrants from both the Western and Southern Provinces had a higher proportion in the educated categories: thus four fifths of those born in the Western Province and three fifths of those born in the Southern Province had attended school. Creoles and Sherbros are tribes from these Provinces which had particularly high average levels of education, 90% (57/63) of Creoles and 78% (61/78) of Sherbros having attended school. Mendes come from both the Eastern and Southern Pro-

TABLE 2.15: Province of birth of workers at S.L.S.T. by level of education.

Province of birth	Level of education			
	None	Primary	Post-primary	Total
North	397 (16%)	51 (9%)	109 (16%)	557 (15%)
South	238 (10%)	177 (32%)	175 (26%)	590 (16%)
East	1,761 (71%)	269 (48%)	276 (41%)	2,309 (62%)
West	35 (1%)	47 (8%)	88 (13%)	170 (5%)
Outside Sierra Leone	40 (2%)	15 (3%)	24 (4%)	79 (2%)
Total known[1]	2,471 (100%)	559 (100%)	672 (100%)	3,702 (100%)
Don't know	354	12	20	386
Total	2,825	571	692	4,088

[1] All percentages are calculated from the total known figures.

vinces, and showed a combination of the characteristics of the respondents from each of these areas. On the one hand, two fifths (851/1451) of them had never been to school, and they formed 30% (851/2,825) of uneducated workers - i.e. the second largest group after the Kono. But on the other hand, they formed almost half (600/1263) of all educated workers though they constituted

only slightly over one third (1451/4088) of the total workforce of S.L.S.T. So, because of their large proportion in the total labour force, Mendes are found in considerable numbers at all educational and occupational levels; but they are particularly prominent at the upper levels.

Immigrants from the Northern Province were mainly illiterates, but, as their educational distribution was similar to that of the total labour force of S.L.S.T., they formed roughly the expected proportion in each educational category. There were, however, differences in the average level of education between migrants from different parts of the Northern Province. Thus migrants from Koinadugu District, which is the most remote part of the Northern Province relative to Freetown, but yet the closest part to the Eastern Province, were mainly illiterates (222/241). Such migrants were particularly from the Koranko tribe. On the other hand, about half (62/122) of the immigrants from the Districts of Kambia and Port Loko - mainly Temnes - had been to school. Bombali and Tonkilili are Districts in the Northern Province which are intermediate in distance from S.L.S.T.; and it was found that migrants from these districts had an intermediate level of education, two fifths (80/189) of them having attended school. Thus it again appears that migrants from furthest away are most likely to be educated. The local area may be able to provide much of the uneducated, unskilled labour, but it is short of educated and skilled personnel. And furthermore there is greater economic incentive for the more highly paid workers to travel long distances in search of work.

The relationship between tribe and occupation may be similarly analysed; and it reveals a similar pattern. The small number of Creoles in the labour force (63) are more or less equally distributed between minor supervisory posts, such as foreman and headman (11), clerical work (10), technical jobs (12), skilled manual jobs (11) and driving (10). Thus they are of higher than average occupational status, but are not confined exclusively to white collar employment. The largest tribe in the labour force are the Mende, who make up over a third (1451/4088) of the total labour force, followed by the Kono, who make up a bit less than a third (1239/4088).[1] Both tribes were found at all occupational levels, but there were some differences in emphasis. Each had about its expected proportion of jobs as foremen and headmen, though a higher proportion of Mende were in the more highly skilled former category, while more Kono were in the less skilled latter category. Among artisans and journeymen, Mende made up about half of the total (154/308), while Kono were less than one quarter (72/308); and among clerical workers Mende were 46% (117/254) of the total while Kono were only 19% (47/254). Thus Mende predominated at the higher socio-economic levels. Kono, on the other hand, formed a slightly higher proportion at the less skilled levels, making up 36% (768/2127) of unskilled workers, compared with the Mende's 30% (641/2127) In fact 62% of Konos were unskilled workers, compared with only 44% of Mendes. Temne and Limba, both important immig-

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[1] Mendes are the largest group despite the fact that Kono are the local tribe in the area of the main diamond fields in Kono district and Mendes are immigrants. However Mende are the local tribe at the subsidiary field at Tongo in Kenema District.

rant groups in the Western Area, together make up less than 7% (181 and 95 respectively) of the total labour force at S.L.S.T., and are most noticeablein semi-skilled, unskilled and driving occupations. The most important other tribes are the Koranko (236) and Kissi (217). For both these tribes the diamond fields are the closest areas of economic development; and about three quarters of the workers from these tribes are in unskilled occupations, while less than 2% are in white collar jobs.

The final topic to be discussed in this section is the relationship between the age of workers and certain of their other socio-economic characteristics. The main point to be made is that educated workers are, on average, much younger than illiterate workers. This can be seen clearly from Table 2.16 which compares the ages and educational levels of workers in the three companies in the Western Area. The Table shows that the great majority of workers under the age of 26 years had attended school, compared with less than half of those of over 35 years. Of those workers with no formal education, only a small proportion were under the age of 26 years, and the majority were over 35 years; while among workers with post-primary education, about half were under 26 years and less than one fifth were aged over 35 years. This clearly reflects the expansion of the school system in recent years, which gave the younger generation a better chance of attending school than their elders; and in particular it reflects the recent importance of secondary education.

TABLE 2.16: Age of workers at U.A.C., A.T.C. and S.L.B. by educational level.

Age	Educational level: None	Primary	Post-primary	Total
25 years and under	27 (9%)	28 (9%)	251 (82%)	306 (100%)
26-35 years	88 (24%)	84 (22%)	202 (54%)	374 (100%)
Over 35 years	184 (52%)	77 (22%)	92 (26%)	353 (100%)
Don't know	44	16	2	62
Total	343 (31%)	205 (19%)	547 (50%)	1,095 (100%)

As a result of the close correlation between education and occupation, a similar pattern is visible in the relationship between age and occupational level. Thus two fifths (117/295) of all clerical workers were under the age of 26 years, and only one twentieth (16/295) were over the age of 45 years, compared with equivalent figures for unskilled labourers whose ages were known of one fifth (61/326) and one quarter (84/326).[1]

Some tendency for educational "devaluation" was also noticed, however, with older employees having been able to secure

[1] Age was unknown in the cases of 45 unskilled labourers.

white collar employment with lower educational qualifications than those demanded from more recent school leavers. Whereas previously a man with only primary education might secure a clerical position, in recent years, as a result of the changing balance of supply and demand in the labour market for educated personnel, completion of Form V is now normally a minimum requirement for such employment in bureaucratic organizations. Less educated young people are now forced into lower status employment. This does not, however, negate the central proposition here that a large proportion of while collar workers are in the younger age categories.[1]

The equivalent figures for S.L.S.T. are unreliable, as age is unknown in about three fifths (2402/4088) of all cases; but the figures which are available suggest a similar trend. Of those workers with post-primary education whose ages were known, two fifths (238/603) were under the age of 26 years, compared with only one tenth (41/404) of those with primary education only, and one twentieth (36/679) of those with no Western education; and conversely, only 14% (84/603) of those with post-primary education, 46% (186/404) of those with primary education only, and 52% (355/679) of those with no Western education were over the age of 35 years.[2] Thus it can again be noted that educated workers had a much younger

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1 It should also be noted that many Sierra Leoneans, young as well as old, claim that the last classes of primary school in the past were equivalent to Form II or III today.

2 Ages were unknown in the cases of 90 workers with post-primary education, 168 with primary education only, and 2,144 with no Western education.

average age than illiterate workers; and that workers with post-primary education are particularly young, reflecting the very recent expansion of the post-primary sector of the educational system. These figures, of course, are not reliable because of the high proportion of unknown values, but if, as seems likely, many of those whose ages were unknown were illiterates in the older age categories, then the relationship between age and education may be even more marked than the figures here suggest.

The higher proportions of educated workers in the younger age categories reflect the spread of education to previously underprivileged sections of the population. Looking at the figures for workers in the three companies in the Western Area, the Creoles, with their original educational advantages, show little change over time: Creoles of all ages had invariably attended school, though whereas only three quarters (57/74) of those aged over 35 years had attended secondary school, this was true of 95% (200/210) of those of 35 years of age and under. The other tribes, however, showed considerable evidence of educational upgrading over time. Of the Mende, for example, 56% (25/45) of those over 35 had attended school, compared with 88% (107/121) of those of 35 years of age and under; and only 28% (15/53) of Temnes of over 35 had been to school, compared with 71% (79/112) of those in the younger age categories. The proportion of Mendes with post-primary education rose from 18% (8/45) of those of over 35 years to 63% (76/121) of those of 35 years of age and under; and of Temnes from 11% (6/53) to 46% (51/112). Limbas, Lokos and Fulas also showed some improvement, though starting from a more backward position. In the over

35 age category, 92% (101/110) of the members of these tribes had never been to school, and less than 1% (1/110) had any form of post-primary education; while among those of 35 years of age and under, only half (50/98) had never been to school, and as many as a third (33/98) had some form of post-primary education. The Limbas have shown a particularly dramatic increase in education among those of 25 years of age and under: three quarters (15/20) of them had attended secondary school, and only 15% (3/20) had never been to school at all. These figures clearly indicate the importance of the recent spread of education to the Provincial tribes.

Despite this rising level of education among the Provincial tribes, however, there appears to have been a reversal in recent years of the tendency for educated Provincials to replace Creoles in the labour force. This can be seen from Table 2.17. Though Provincials increased from 26% of all workers with post-primary education in the over 35 age category to 52% of such workers in the 26 - 35 age category, their proportion fell again to only 35% in the 25 and under age category; and there was a corresponding rise in the proportion of Creoles. Of course the high proportion of "don't knows" in the younger age category raises some doubts about these results, but further analysis reveals that most of them (30/42) had been born in the Western Area. Assuming that about three quarters of such workers born in the Western Area were Creoles, and that all those born in the other Provinces were Non-Creoles,[1] then the true proportions in the under 26 age category would be

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[1] These assumptions are in line with figures derived from those cases in which both tribe and place of birth were known.

TABLE 2.17: Tribe by age among workers with post-primary education at U.A.C., A.T.C., and S.L.B.

Tribe	Age				
	25 years and under	26 - 35 years	36 years and over	Don't know	Total
Creoles	119 (47%)	81 (40%)	57 (62%)		257 (47%)
Provincials	88 (35%)	106 (52%)	24 (26%)	1	219 (40%)
Other	2 (1%)	10 (5%)	6 (7%)		18 (3%)
Don't know	42 (17%)	5 (2%)	5 (5%)	1	53 (10%)
Total	251 (100%)	202 (99%)	92 (100%)	2	547 (100%)

about 57% of Creoles and 43% of Provincials, which again suggests that Creoles are improving their position relative to Provincials in the youngest age category.

Figures comparing province of birth with age among workers with post-primary education also give the impression that those born in the Western Area were doing better than others in the youngest age category. Thus, among workers with post-primary education, those born in the Western Area constituted 70% (64/92) in the over 35 age category, 51% (103/202) in the 26 - 35 age category, and 63% (158/251) in the under 26 age category, while those born in other

TABLE 2.18: Tribe by age among all workers at U.A.C., A.T.C., and S.L.B.

Tribe	Age				
	25 years and under	26 - 35 years	36 years and over	Don't know	Total
Creoles	119 (39%)	91 (24%)	74 (21%)		284 (26%)
Provincials	139 (45%)	250 (67%)	244 (69%)	55	688 (63%)
Other	3 (1%)	15 (4%)	20 (6%)	1	39 (4%)
Don't know	45 (15%)	18 (5%)	15 (4%)	6	84 (8%)
Total	306 (100%)	374 (100%)	353 (100%)	62	1,095 (101%)

Provinces at first rose from 21% (19/92) in the over 35 age category to 43% (86/202) in the 26 - 35 age category, but then fell back to only 32% (81/251) in the under 26 age category. In fact, as can be seen from Table 2.18, this is part of a general tendency in the total labour forces of the three companies for the proportions of Creoles to increase and the proportions of Provincials to fall in the younger age categories. This is partly due to the ageing characteristics of the unskilled labour force, which is largely Provincial in origin. But it does also reflect the falling proportion of Provincials relative to Creoles among the under 25's with secondary education.

TABLE 2.19: Tribe by age among workers with post-primary education at S.L.S.T.

Tribe	Age				
	25 years and under	26 - 35 years	36 years and over	Don't know	Total
Creoles	13 (5%)	11 (4%)	19 (18%)		43 (6%)
Provincials	215 (90%)	228 (88%)	71 (67%)	86	600 (87%)
Other	4 (2%)	16 (6%)	13 (12%)	2	35 (5%)
Don't know	6 (3%)	4 (2%)	3 (3%)	2	15 (2%)
Total	238 (100%)	259 (100%)	106 (100%)	90	693 (100%)

Some reasons may be suggested for this tendency. In the first place, it partly reflects the large numbers of Creole females in these younger age categories. The recent expansion of educational and occupational opportunities has helped Creole females at least as much as Provincial males, and their movement into white collar employment partly explains the increasing predominance of Creoles in these categories. Provincial females, on the other hand, do not seem to have been able to take advantage of such opportunities. The increasing proportion of Creoles in the younger age categories, however, is also found among male respond-

ents alone. Another possibility is that due to the later school leaving age among some Provincials and the time lag in their arriving in Freetown they have less opportunity to appear in the youngest age category. This may explain part of the effect.

Another important possibility is that young Provincials are either voluntarily entering other types of employment, such as the civil service or teaching, particularly in the Provinces, or are being forced into such employment, or even unemployment. Certainly Provincials have formed an increasingly important part of the labour force at S.L.S.T., as can be seen from Table 2.19: their proportion of workers with post-primary education has risen from two thirds of those of 36 years of age and over to nine tenths of those of 25 years of age and under, while the corresponding figure for Creoles has fallen from 18% of those of 36 and over (and 35% of those of 45 and over) to only 5% of those of 25 years of age and under. The evidence available on the social composition of the teaching profession also suggests that it absorbs an increasing proportion of young, educated Provincials.[1] Another possible source of employment for them is the civil service, especially since the government is now controlled by Provincials.

It does seem probable, however, that as the number of secondary school leavers increases faster than the occupational vacancies for them, so competition for these vacancies must also

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[1] Evidence on this will be presented in the next chapter. It is also supported by the results of a partially analysed survey of the record cards of all teachers in Sierra Leone, carried out in 1969.

increase; and Creoles - even female Creoles - are likely to be more successful in this competition than Provincials. Even the fact that a higher proportion of Creoles than Provincials are in clerical work while the reverse is true in primary school teaching supports this suggestion, for clerical work, particularly in bureaucratic firms of the type included in this survey, is generally a better rewarded and more desired occupation than primary school teaching. In addition, research at several labour exchanges, including the main Freetown Labour Exchange, showed that the great majority of young, educated applicants were Provincials, suggesting that they experience greater difficulty than Creoles in obtaining employment.[1] It may well be, then, that with the reduced rate of increase of job opportunities relative to the output of secondary schools, the Creoles have been able to reassert some of their advantage in gaining employment relative to Provincials, at least for the more popular jobs. This, however, requires some further research.

Four general conclusions may be drawn from this section. Firstly, the results confirm those of earlier sections of this chapter which suggested that educational and occupational opportunities are differentially distributed between the various tribes and regions of Sierra Leone. In particular, the Creoles appear to be a highly privileged section of the population, most of whom receive education at least up to the secondary level, and many of whom go on to get the most sought-after jobs. On the other hand, few mem-

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[1] Some evidence on this will be presented in the next chapter.

bers of the Limba, Loko, Fula, Yulunka or Koranko tribes go to school, and they therefore tend to be found mainly in jobs of the lowest socio-economic status. Mende and Temne have a wider distribution in socio-economic terms. Some are already prominent in positions of high socio-economic status, and due to their very large total numbers they may even occupy a high proportion of such positions; but the majority remain at a lower socio-economic level.

Secondly, despite the general similarities in the pattern of tribal stratification noted above, the pattern of labour recruitment to the three companies in the Western Area and to S.L.S.T. are rather different. This is due to their different histories or patterns of development. The Western Area, with its ever increasing administrative, commercial and industrial functions, relies on both local and immigrant labour. Due to the fact that Freetown is the educational centre of Sierra Leone, it is able to supply much of its own educated manpower; and in fact few of the workers born in the Western Area were illiterate, while most of them were in white collar employment or other skilled occupations. The Western Area also has to import some educated manpower, however, with the Southern Province being the largest contributor, followed closely by the Northern Province. In fact, many of these educated workers appear to have first come to Freetown to attend school, and preferred to remain there to exploit the greater occupational opportunities than in their home areas. As for the illiterate semi-skilled and unskilled workers, few of them had been born in the Western Area itself. The great majority of illiterate immigrants are Temne, Limba and Fula from the populous but underdevelop-

ed Northern Province. It was noticable that few immigrants in any educational category came from the Eastern Province, probably partly because of its greater geographical distance from Freetown, but also because of the occupational opportunities offered by its own recent economic development based on the diamond industry. Those immigrants who did come from the Eastern Province tended, like those from the Southern Province, to belong to the educated categories.

At S.L.S.T., on the other hand, a rather different pattern of labour recruitment was found. Most of the unskilled workers were from local tribes, particularly the Kono and Mende. Until recently, however, the diamond areas have lacked adequate educational facilities, and so, unlike the situation in the Western Area, most of the educated and skilled workers have been immigrants. The proportion of educated workers among immigrants tends to increase in direct proportion to the distance they have travelled. Thus, although both the Western Area and the Eastern Province are centres of economic development requiring immigrant labour, the pattern of immigration differs in the two areas due to their differing histories, particularly in the field of educational development.

The third conclusion concerns the limited occupational opportunities available for women in bureaucratic organizations. It is often assumed that women in West Africa are in an advanced stage of social and economic emancipation, but the present study indicates that such a view is only partially correct: Only one of

the four companies investigated, namely U.A.C., offered many jobs to women, and these were mainly for women with secondary education. There are practically no opportunities for illiterate and primary-educated women in bureaucratic employment; and they are therefore confined to petty trading, unemployment, prostitution, or some combination of the three. Even educated girls who wish to enter such occupations as typing, nursing, or primary school teaching, which in industrialized societies tend to be monopolised by females, must face competition from males. In the early stages of development men filled most of these positions because of the absence of educated females, and this is probably still the case in Kono District, where S.L.S.T. is situated. In the Freetown Area, however, there are more educated girls, but they must still compete for employment with their male counterparts, who seek such jobs mainly because of the absence of alternative occupational opportunities.[1] Employers may have reasons to prefer male employees - e.g. they do not require maternity leave - and this may partly explain the particularly low proportion of females even among the white collar workers at A.T.C. and S.L.B.[2] Females are therefore found mainly in the occupations which are less attractive to males, such as primary school teaching, or are forced to join their illiterate sisters in unemployment or prostitution.

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1 This point will be discussed in the next chapter.

2 It is also possible that in industrial firms which must employ mainly males in their production jobs, managements feel it simplest to employ only males, even in white collar jobs which could equally be done by females. This might explain why firms such as S.L.S.T., A.T.C. and S.L.B. employ mainly males even in white collar occupations, while U.A.C. and the civil service employ a much higher proportion of females. This point could be clarified through discussions with managements about their policies on the recruitment of female workers.

It should be noted, however, that the opportunities for employment open to Creole females and Provincial females are very different. Most Creole females appear to have been successful in obtaining a good secondary education, and are thus able to move into white collar employment; and it has been suggested that they are at least as successful in this as Provincial males. The most underprivileged group is made up of Provincial females. As has already been noted, very few of them have yet obtained secondary education; and bureaucratic organisations offer very few employment opportunities for females with less than this level of education. It thus appears that Provincial females have a very poor chance of obtaining satisfactory employment in the urban areas.

The fourth and final conclusion concerns the change taking place over time. The figures clearly show how the expansion of the educational system has been reflected in the educational upgrading of the labour force. Younger workers are, on average, more educated than their elders, a higher proportion of them having attended school, and particularly secondary school. In so far as these young people predominate in sub-elite occupations, this is further justification for the concentration of this study on the younger members of the sub-elite.

The upgrading of the labour force is particularly noticeable among Provincials, and, relative to Creoles, they are becoming an increasing proportion of the educated labour force. As members of all tribes obtain education, and move into positions of higher socio-economic status, the correlation between tribe and social status is

breaking down. But a slight setback was noticed in the improving position of Provincials in the labour forces of the three companies in the Western Area, and it was suggested that, in a situation of increasing competition for white collar employment, they were being forced either into less preferred types of employment, or unemployment. This, however, like many points which could only be raised in this section, requires further research.

Leaving school and gaining further education.

Finally in this chapter, we may examine the extent to which there are variations in educational terms within the sample, indicating differences between the various socio-economic groupings. Obviously, as a result of the nature of the sample, such variations tend to be minimal, but a glance at Tables 2.20 and 2.21 does reveal some marginal differences. From these tables it can be seen that the great majority of respondents in all categories had left secondary school in Form V, and only a minority had any type of formal post-secondary education, though many claimed to have engaged in private studies.

Variations are more noticeable between the sexes than between respondents of differing socio-economic backgrounds. Thus 70% of males reached form V, compared with only 60% of females, who were particularly likely to have left secondary school in form IV. And females were particularly likely to have further education in the form of secretarial training or teacher training, while more males had technical training: thus 29% of females had secretarial

TABLE 2.20: Sex and tribe by form left secondary school.

Sex and tribe	Form left secondary school: Forms I - III	Form IV	Form V	Form VI	Total
Creole males	4 (7%)	7 (12%)	46 (77%)	3 (5%)	60 (101%)
Provincial males	25 (18%)	20 (14%)	95 (67%)	2 (1%)	142 (100%)
Creole females	3 (8%)	14 (35%)	23 (58%)	0 (-)	40 (101%)
Provincial females	0 (-)	2 (25%)	6 (75%)	0 (-)	8 (100%)
Total	32 (13%)	43 (17%)	170 (68%)	5 (2%)	250 (100%)

training and 23% had teacher training, compared with equivalent figures of 2% and 9% for males; and 12% of males had technical training, compared with none of the females. Males were also more likely than females to claim that they had taken correspondence courses or engaged in private studies. As will be explained in the next chapter, females appear quite satisfied with such lower level vocational training in the fields of teaching, nursing and secretarial work, while males aspire to more advanced types of further education, for which they are not yet qualified.

Small variations between respondents of differing socio-economic backgrounds are apparent, however, as can be seen from

TABLE 2.21: Sex and tribe by education since leaving school.

Sex and tribe	Teacher training	Tech-nical	Secret-arial	Corres-pondence	Private	Other	None	Total[1]
Creole males	2 3%	3 5%	3 5%	21 35%	28 47%	7 12%	5 8%	60
Creole females	8 20%	0 -	14 35%	4 10%	11 28%	7 18%	6 15%	40
Provincial males	17 12%	21 15%	1 1%	33 23%	65 46%	12 8%	23 16%	142
Provincial females	3 38%	0 -	0 -	0 -	4 50%	1 13%	2 25%	8
Total	30 12%	24 10%	18 7%	58 23%	108 43%	27 11%	36 14%	250

[1] Multiple responses were possible, and so the percentages may add up to more than 100%.

Tables 2.20 and 2.21. Thus, concentrating on male respondents only, it can be seen that while 32% of the Provincials left secondary school before Form V, this was true of only 19% of Creole males. And Provincials were more likely than Creoles to have participated in the lower status forms of vocational training: thus 12% of Provincial males had attended teacher training college and 15% had attended a technical institute or trade centre, compared with equivalent figures of 3% and 5% for Creole males. Thus although, because of the sampling procedure, the similarities between Creole and Provincial respondents are greater than the differences, there are some marginal differences which appear to indicate that while some Provincials are only able to continue their education by entering lower status courses of a vocational nature, nearly all Creoles remain in the academic stream, from which their chances of proceeding to higher education are superior.

Variations between Creoles and Provincials in their educational opportunities are also reflected in the reasons they gave for leaving secondary school, as can be seen in Table 2.22. Thus, while the majority of Creoles said that they had left school because they had finished their courses, Provincials were most likely to attribute the termination of their secondary education to difficulties in obtaining sufficient money for school fees and other educational expenses: two thirds of Provincials said they left school because of financial difficulties, compared with less than one third of Creoles. Though some of their answers were stereotyped, and may have hidden deeper reasons, they do undoubtedly re-

TABLE 2.22: Reasons for leaving school by tribe.

	Creoles		Provincials		Total	
Finished course	57	(57%)	44	(29%)	101	(40%)
Academic failure	13	(13%)	20	(13%)	33	(13%)
Continue education elsewhere	9	(9%)	12	(8%)	21	(8%)
Financial difficulties	29	(29%)	101	(67%)	130	(52%)
Desire to work	4	(4%)	6	(4%)	10	(4%)
Other	4	(4%)	5	(3%)	9	(4%)
Total[1]	100		150		250	

[1] Multiple responses were possible, and so the percentages add up to more than 100%.

flect the greater difficulties encountered by Provincials in seeking secondary education.

We may digress slightly here, and examine the reasons given by respondents for leaving school in greater detail. Two fifths of respondents said that they had left school because they had finished their courses, but this should not necessarily be taken to mean that they wished to terminate their education and enter employment. Many of them would have liked to continue their education after Form V, either in Form VI or an institution of higher education, but were unable to do so through lack of either academic distinction or financial resources, or possibly both.

Form V is thus a terminal year for many aspiring scholars. At the time of their interviews, however, only 5% of respondents, mainly females, stated that they had no plans for further education, indicating that though they had finished their courses at secondary school, the majority of respondents did not consider that they had completed their education. The proportion of respondents who said that they had left secondary school because of academic failure seems rather small (13%), but their numbers should probably include many others who preferred to attribute the termination of their formal education to having finished their course, or their family's inability to pay their fees, rather than to their own intellectual inadequacy. Others, however, admitted that they did not do well in their exams, particularly the General Certificate of Education (G.C.E.), and could not find a school which would accept them either to continue to Form VI or to repeat Form V.

About 8% of respondents mentioned that they had left school to continue their education in other institutions, and this proportion should probably be slightly higher. This includes those who went to teacher training colleges, but was particularly likely to be mentioned by those who left the early forms of secondary schools to attend courses at technical institutes and trade centres. One Mende respondent stated that he had seen so many of his friends, even those with passes in the G.C.E., being unable to get jobs that he decided to leave school and learn a trade. In addition, his step-father had children of his own to educate, and was unwilling to go on paying his fees. Another respondent, a Kono, reported

that his Creole guardian's son, who was a mechanic, told him not to waste his time at school, but to learn a trade. He believed that Sierra Leone needed technicians, and so he entered the Kissy Trade Centre to train as an electrician. Another advantage of attending a teacher training college, technical institute or trade centre is that tuition is usually free, and pocket money may be paid. For example, students at the trade centres received an allowance of 80c. per day. This obviously relieved their families of some of the financial burdens of education, and allowed children who had no means of paying fees to receive some form of further education, though of a less popular variety than academic secondary education.

The most common reasons for leaving school mentioned by respondents were various types of financial difficulty - most typically inability to pay school fees - such difficulties being mentioned by slightly over half of all respondents. No doubt the financial problems of education are part of the collective consciousness of every African school child, and stereotyped answers on leaving school because of lack of money to pay fees may conceal many cases in which the real reason for leaving was academic failure. Economic factors, however, do act as important constraints on educational achievement, as was indicated by the previous figures on social mobility, particularly at the higher levels of the educational system, at which the academically inept have already been weeded out. Many able children do have to leave school because of the inability of their parents and other relatives to pay fees and other educational expenses.

In some cases this may follow a family crisis, such as the death of the parent or other relative who was paying the school fees. In many cases, however, the discontinuation of education is not blamed on the crisis alone, but also on the failure of other relatives to shoulder the burden of educational costs. Thus one Mende respondent reported that the death of his father - a man with more than 30 children - forced him to leave school. His elder brother paid his fees for two years after the death of his father, but then said that he felt "tired". This greatly annoyed the respondent who felt that, as his brother had inherited plantations from their father, he should use the profits to educate their father's younger children; and he wanted to report his elder brother to the magistrate. Another respondent said that after his father's death his uncle did not want to help him with his schooling, feeling, probably correctly, that he would not be remembered for it afterwards like a real parent.

Other crises, such as the illness or unemployment of the person paying the fees, could also force children to leave school. A Mende respondent told me that his father was ill, and spent all his money on native medicine in Liberia - he was therefore not able to continue paying his son's school fees, and the latter had to leave school. A number of respondents mentioned that they left school when the relative who had been paying their fees became unemployed; and one added that he did not like to see his uncle spending his savings on him, for he had his own children to educate. In the face of such family crises, not all respondents took up a purely selfish point of view - many expressed a wish to earn money, and thus help their families in their time of trouble.

Respondents also left school for a variety of other financial reasons. One had had his fees paid by a missionary who left the country. Another, whose father was dead, had been supported at school by one of his uncles, who was a contractor and a director of the Sierra Leone Produce Marketing Board. This uncle had left the country for a visit to the U.S.A. without making any provision for payment of the school fees of his brother's children; and when he returned, only the younger ones could go back to school. A Mende respondent told me that he had to leave school when his father was detained for political reasons, and his sister grew "tired" of paying; while another said that he had to leave when his scholarship was taken away for political reasons by the military government. Quite a number of other respondents (about 20 in all) also mentioned that they had to leave secondary school when their scholarships ended, usually after they completed their courses in Form V.

It can be seen that the attitudes of parents and guardians as well as their financial standing may be important determinants of whether or not their children continue with their education. Many respondents reported that their relatives became "tired" of paying, and so they had to leave school. Some Provincial respondents claimed that there was a common belief among their relatives that a form V or G.C.E. level of education was sufficient to make a person educated, or at least able to gain employment; and they were therefore unwilling to pay beyond this stage. As one respondent reported, his uncle refused to pay more fees because he "thought I knew enough". Some parents and guardians urged, or

even forced, the respondents to leave school so that they could see some return on the investment in their education. Thus a Temne teacher was urged by his father to leave school, because his father wanted to get something back from him before he died - unfortunately, the father died two years later while the son was still in teacher training college.

Only a small proportion of respondents (4%) said that they had left school because they wanted to start work. One Creole schoolboy, who had not been getting on with his foster parents - they had been giving him too much work to do, and thus hindering his studies - decided to leave school after Form V so that he could earn money to live by himself. Most respondents who wanted to work, however, were motivated by a desire to help their families financially. A Kono mechanic, for example, said that he left school because of his love for his grandmother who had supported him in school - he wanted to let her enjoy part of his earnings before she died; while a Susu work-study clerk explained that he had to work because he was the only son of his father, aged over 80, who depended on him to send money. A few respondents said that they left school because they were fed up with it; and some particularly expressed dissatisfaction with the standards of teaching. For example, the Creole mentioned above, who wanted to get away from his foster parents, also said that it was not worth returning to school because of the poor quality of the teaching. Similarly, an Aku clerk from a prosperous home, who was asked by his father to repeat Form V, refused because of

TABLE 2.23: Sex and tribe by numbers of G.C.E. "O" level and W.A.S.C. passes obtained while still at school.

Sex and tribe	Number of passes: None	One	Two	Three	Four or more	Don't[1] know	Total
Creole males	23 (38%)	6 (10%)	8 (13%)	13 (22%)	9 (15%)	1 (2%)	60 (100%)
Provincial males	64 (45%)	14 (10%)	20 (14%)	18 (13%)	13 (9%)	13 (9%)	142 (100%)
Creole females	21 (53%)	1 (3%)	8 (20%)	3 (8%)	4 (10%)	3 (8%)	40 (102%)
Provincial females	2 (25%)	0 (-)	2 (25%)	3 (38%)	1 (13%)	0 (-)	8 (101%)
Total	110 (44%)	21 (8%)	38 (15%)	37 (15%)	27 (11%)	17 (7%)	250 (100%)

[1] Most respondents in this category were waiting for their examination results.

dissatisfaction with the standard of teachers. Interestingly enough, both these respondents had attended well-established, Creole secondary schools.

Finally in this section we may look briefly at the formal qualifications obtained by respondents during their educational careers, details of which are summarised in Tables 2.23 and 2.24. Table 2.23 shows the numbers of G.C.E. "O" levels and West African School Certificates (W.A.S.C.) which respondents had obtained be-

fore leaving school.[1] This indicates that over half of all respondents had at least some passes, and about one quarter had three or more passes. Only 5% (12/250) of respondents, however, had the five or more passes required for university entrance; and only 1% (2/250) had any G.C.E. "A" level passes.[2] Examination of Table 2.23 shows that there is relatively little variation either between males and females, or between Creoles and Provincials. When it is remembered that fewer females and Provincials than males and Creoles actually reached Form V, then it seems likely that those in the former categories who did must have performed better academically than those in the latter categories.

Table 2.24 summarises the qualifications which respondents obtained after leaving secondary school. From this it can be seen that 14% of respondents obtained "O" levels after leaving school, of whom 23 already had some "O" levels and 11 were obtaining them for the first time: thus at the time of their interview about three fifths (151/250) of respondents had some "O" levels, or were waiting for results, and 29% (72/250) had three or more passes. This rate of increase seems fairly modest, and is mainly confined to Creoles. When interviewed, 73% (44/60) of Creole males had some "O" levels, or were waiting for results, compared with only 56% (79/142) of Provincial males. Only four more respondents had obtained "A" levels since leaving school. Of course secondary school leavers who were more successful in accumulating "O" and "A" levels would probably have entered university, and thus have

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1 The G.C.E. superseded the W.A.S.C.

2 Of course for university entrance not only the number but also the combination of "O" levels is important. Those respondents with five or more "O" levels may not have had the right combination for university entrance.

TABLE 2.24: Sex and tribe by qualifications obtained after leaving school.

Sex and tribe	Higher teaching[1]	Lower teaching[2]	Technical	Secretarial[3]	A-levels	O-levels	Other	None	Don't know	Total[4]
Creole males	0	1	2	4	2	17	2	34	0	60
	-	2%	3%	7%	3%	28%	3%	57%	-	
Provincial males	6	10	18	4	3	13	4	89	2	142
	4%	7%	13%	3%	2%	9%	3%	63%	1%	
Creole females	0	5	0	8	0	4	2	24	0	40
	-	13%	-	20%	-	10%	5%	60%	-	
Provincial females	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	8
	13%	25%	-	-	-	-	-	63%	-	
Total	7	18	20	16	5	34	8	152	2	250
	3%	7%	8%	6%	2%	14%	3%	61%	1%	

1 E.g., A.T.C., or H.T.C. 2 E.g., T.C. or T.E.C. 3 E.g., R.S.A.

2 Multiple responses were possible, and so the percentages add up to more than 100%.

been excluded from the present sample.

Other qualifications obtained after leaving school mainly reflect the pattern of attendance at institutions of further education: thus teaching qualifications are found mainly among females and Provincial males, technical qualifications mainly among Provincial males, and secretarial qualifications mainly among Creole females. One interesting point to emerge is that it is mainly Provincial males who obtain the higher teaching qualifications, such as the Advanced Teacher's Certificate, granted by Milton Margai Training College.

So the conclusion of this section is that the sample is fairly homogeneous in educational terms, mainly because it was constructed in this way. The majority of respondents had reached Form V, and slightly over half had G.C.E. "O" level or W.A.S.C. passes, though not sufficient to gain entry to university. Only a small proportion had formal post-secondary education. Two types of variation were noted, however. Firstly, there was a variation between males and females: a higher proportion of females than males had participated in lower status training of a vocational nature, particularly in the fields of teaching and secretarial work. As will be seen in the next chapter, this is related to the more limited occupational aspirations among females. Secondly, there was a slight variation between Creoles and Provincials: Provincials were slightly less likely to have reached Form V than Creoles; and they predominated among males who had participated in vocational courses, particularly in the fields of

teacher training and technical education. This may be attributed to the greater difficulties experienced by Provincials in obtaining secondary education, which is also shown in their tendency to explain the termination of their education in terms of financial problems. Thus the evidence presented in this section does give at least partial support to the previous conclusions on the uneven distribution of educational opportunities, though in this case the variations are only marginal. In the next chapter we will move on to examine the variations between respondents in terms of their occupational characteristics.

Summary and conclusions.

The evidence presented in this chapter shows that there are two sides to the pattern of social mobility in Sierra Leone. In the first place, there appears to be considerable inequality in the distribution of educational, and hence occupational, opportunities. Thus, for example, it was shown that the children of Creoles had a much better chance of obtaining a good education than the children of Provincials. This was illustrated in a number of ways: firstly, it was shown that Creoles were greatly overrepresented in the sample of secondary school leavers compared with their proportions in the total population of Sierra Leone, for they made up 38% of the sample, but only 2% of the total population. In addition it was shown that the siblings of Creoles were, on average, better educated than the siblings of Provincials; that Creole workers in the labour forces of the companies examined were more likely to be educated and in white collar employment than their

Provincial colleagues; and that, within the sample itself, Creole respondents were likely to have a slightly better level of education than Provincial respondents. It was also shown that educational opportunities varied along other dimensions: for example, children from the Western Area had a better chance of obtaining an education than children from the Southern and Eastern Provinces, and particularly than children from the Northern Province; children of educated parents had a better chance than children of illiterate parents; and children of chiefs had a better chance than the children of commoners.

Some of the reasons for this inequality of opportunity are not hard to locate, though it is not possible at this stage to quantify their relative importance. Firstly, the actual numbers of available educational and occupational opportunities are relatively limited, and this severely restricts opportunities for social mobility. Secondly, for historical reasons, the spread of education throughout Sierra Leone was uneven, and children from those areas of the country which were well supplied with educational facilities had a better chance of obtaining a good education than those from less privileged areas. In particular, missionaries first opened schools in the Western Area, and then in the Southern Province, and this distributional imbalance in educational facilities persists until the present day. This gives Creoles from the Western Area a great initial advantage in obtaining a good education; and also accounts for the predominance of Mendes and Sherbros from the Southern Province among educated Provincials.

Thirdly, the level of enthusiasm for Western education may vary between different socio-economic groups, and this may affect their propensity to send their children to school. The Creoles, for example, have been exposed to Western education for over 150 years, and are well aware of its benefits: indeed most of their occupational opportunities are dependent on their obtaining a good education. Some Provincial families, on the other hand, are less enthusiastic about sending their children to school: they may see Western education as a disruptive influence, undermining the unity of the family, and the traditional way of life generally; and they may prefer to keep their children at home to follow traditional occupations which do not require formal educational qualifications. Muslims are particularly likely to object to Western education because it conflicts with their traditional beliefs and way of life.[1] In addition, as Foster points out for Ghana, Western education is not usually desired as an end in itself, but only when it is seen to result in tangible benefits, particularly in the occupational sphere; and it may take some time for these benefits to emerge, and be recognized by the people (Foster, 1965). Such variations in attitudes to Western education may lead to variations in educational opportunities for children from differing socio-economic backgrounds; but this is probably of declining significance as enthusiasm for Western education sweeps across the country.

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[1] For a discussion of this with particular reference to the Fula in Sierra Leone, see Butcher (1964).

The final two factors restricting opportunities for social mobility for children from lower status homes are probably more familiar to sociologists working in industrialized societies, namely the influences of socio-economic and socio-cultural factors. Children from better-off homes obviously have an advantage over those from poorer homes in obtaining a good education, for their parents are better able to afford to pay their school fees and other educational expenses, and to forego the contributions they might have made to the family budget by entering employment. It was seen, for example, that many respondents attributed the termination of their secondary education to financial problems.

Finally, the chances of children performing well at school, and thus successfully completing their education may be influenced by their socio-cultural backgrounds. It seems likely that children from Creole and other literate homes will have some educational advantage over children from illiterate homes: if English is spoken in the home, the child's transition to the use of English as a medium of instruction in the school is likely to be facilitated; and the parent who has been to school is obviously in a better position to help and advise children with their studies than the illiterate parent. In addition, children from spacious, well-furnished "upper class" homes are likely to have a better educational chance than children from overcrowded slum accommodation, just because of the variation in physical conditions and facilities: the former are likely to be provided with a quiet place to study, and have access to such educational media as books, magazines, radio and television, while the latter may

have none of these facilities. Such variations have been found to affect the educational opportunities of children in industrialized societies, and are likely to have an even greater effect in developing societies, where most lower status children are drawn from cultures which are completely alien to the school situation.

It was also noted that social selectivity was much greater among females than among males. Thus, while 28% of male respondents were Creoles, this was true of four fifths of female respondents. The various factors which hinder the spread of education among Provincials generally obviously act with particular ferocity among Provincial females. In particular, when a family has only limited financial resources with which to provide for the education of its children, it usually gives priority to the male members, for they are most likely to provide some return on the investment in their education. It appears that in Sierra Leone, as in most developing societies, the education of females from underprivileged homes requires urgent attention.

Having shown the extent of social selectivity, however, it is also necessary to acknowledge that there is another side to this picture, for a high proportion of the sub-elite originated in lower socio-economic strata. Thus, in the sample of secondary school leavers as a whole, about three fifths of respondents came from the Provincial tribes of Sierra Leone, and among male respondents 69% were Provincials. This indicates a high rate of social mobility into the sub-elite from below. Other data also suggest that Provincials have been improving their status rapidly in recent

years: this was seen, for example, in the low proportion of educated Provincials in the generation of the respondents' parents, compared with the number of educated Provincial respondents; in the relatively high proportion of respondents' siblings who were educated and in white collar employment; and in the increasing proportion of educated Provincials in the labour force generally. But though individuals of low status origins appear to form an increasing proportion of the elite and sub-elite, probably constituting between one quarter and one third of the elite, and between one half and two thirds of the sub-elite, they are still underrepresented in these strata relative to their overwhelming proportions in the total population.

In addition, although the rate of social mobility into the elite and sub-elite is fairly high, this does not mean that there is a high rate of social mobility in the society as a whole. In fact the reverse is true. Because the elite forms a very small part of the total population, it can be made up of a high proportion of individuals who have been socially mobile from the lower strata without this constituting a high rate of out-mobility from these strata. With reference to a similar situation in Ghana, Foster summarises the situation in the following words:

> "It should be noted that our material does not imply that rates of social mobility in contemporary Ghana are high. ..... The principal characteristic of the Ghanaian occupational structure is the very limited number of high-status occupational roles open to individuals, in the sense that only a very tiny proportion of the population can achieve them. In practice, therefore, overall rates of mobility in Ghana and probably in most African societies are quite low. Our conclusion would be that there is

> considerable fluidity in terms of access into strategic educational institutions combined with relatively low rates of occupational mobility in the society in general" (Foster, 1965, p. 248).

In addition, because this upward mobility is mainly forced mobility, made possible by the expansion of elite and sub-elite positions and the replacement of expatriate personnel, it does not necessarily require to be balanced by a corresponding rate of downward mobility; and little downward mobility was evident in the present study. Thus it is only upward mobility <u>into</u> the elite and sub-elite that appears to be large, while other rates of mobility, such as upward mobility <u>out</u> of the masses, or downward mobility <u>out</u> of the elite and sub-elite, appear to be relatively small. Thus assessment of "the rate of social mobility" will depend on which type of measure of mobility is used.[1]

In fact assessing whether rates of social mobility are high or low involves the problems of the choice of suitable measures of mobility and standards of comparison, for this choice may affect the ultimate conclusions; and such choices may be influenced by the "ideological stance" of the research worker, as Clignet and Foster point out, or by his academic interest. Thus in writing of these problems, they state the following:

> "..... we have attempted to show that, in the Ivory Coast at least, the secondary schools have been extremely effective in facilitating occupational mobility and potential elite membership. Of course, studies of this nature are always subject to two kinds of interpretation, depending on the 'ideological stance' of the investigator. Initially one can argue in terms of the <u>relative</u> chances that different sub-groups within the population will have of entering secondary school. In this case it can be said that patterns of inequality are very marked in the Ivory Coast. A

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[1] For further discussion of these difficulties, see Miller (1960) and Fox and Miller (1967).

> southern Agni is about ten times more likely to enter some form of secondary education than a northern Senoufo. The chances of the child of a managerial or clerical worker are about eleven times greater than those of the offspring of a farmer. Those of boys and girls in the great towns of Abidjan or Bouaké are three times greater than those of the children in small communities.
>
> "Thus one can build up a picture of glaring inequality of opportunity, much of which has resulted from earlier patterns of colonial penetration and development. This is quite apart from the question of sex differentials and the fact that among girls inequalities are even more marked. Yet we would argue that anyone concerned with the role that schools play in facilitating mobility is misled by this kind of analysis. For it is evident that in absolute terms, recruitment patterns are still extremely open. Of Ivory Coast secondary school students (excluding African foreigners), almost 70 per cent do not come from the more advanced Agni and Lagoon peoples, over two-thirds are the children of farmers, and well over one-half come from the smallest towns and villages" (Clignet and Foster, 1966, p. 202).

In addition, mobility rates cannot be assessed in isolation, but only with reference to some standard of comparison; and the choice of this standard will obviously influence the assessment of the situation. If the point of reference is the hypothetical state of absolute equality of opportunity, or "perfect mobility", then rates of social mobility in all known societies will be judged inadequate. Foster, on the other hand, compares rates of mobility in West Africa with those in industrialized societies when they were at a similar stage of development; and on the basis of this largely intuitive comparison is fairly optimistic about the situation in West Africa.

Finally, in assessing rates of social mobility, the type of society must be taken into account, for societies with different structures have different mobility potentials. The United States, for example, with about half its labour force in elite and

sub-elite occupations, has a higher mobility potential than most West African societies which usually have less than 5% of their populations in these categories. The small size and relatively rapid rate of expansion of the elites in these latter societies, however, does provide for quite a high rate of social mobility into their elites without necessitating much downward mobility out of these elites. It should be recognized, however, that this pattern is the result of special circumstances, depending on the stage of development of these societies; and that these circumstances - particularly the expansion of the elites - cannot be counted upon to persist.

We may agree with Foster that the judgement on whether rates of social mobility are high or low is to some extent arbitrary, depending on the standards of comparison being used. If, like Foster, one concentrates on the high rates of mobility into the elite, and makes an intuitive comparison with industrialized societies when at the same stage of development, then one may conclude that the society is remarkably open. If, on the other hand, one looks at the extent of inequality of educational and occupational opportunity open to individuals of differing socio-economic backgrounds, the low rate of out-mobility from the lower socio-economic strata, and the low rate of downward mobility out of the elite, which, it should be remembered, Fox and Miller see as the best index of social fluidity, then one might come to very different conclusions - namely that there is considerable social selectivity, or, in other words, that opportunities for social mobility are quite restricted.

There is, however, one way in which these rates of social mobility may be more effectively evaluated, and that is by observing their development over a period of time. Do rates of social mobility increase or decrease as socio-economic development proceeds? Some writers believe that there will be an increase in rates of mobility. Foster, for example, is once again optimistic: in comparing rates of mobility in more developed Ghana with those in less developed Ivory Coast, he finds no tendancy for these rates to decrease with socio-economic development (Clignet and Foster, 1966, pp. 205-207). And Peil, comparing the social composition of the student body at the University of Ghana in the 1960's with Jahoda's results from the 1950's, talks of the "broadening base" of Ghanaian students, and of a "long-term trend toward a student body more representative of the population as a whole" (Peil, 1965, p. 23). Bibby, however, has questioned the validity of the conclusions which Peil draws from rather inadequate data (Bibby, 1973); and the present author, in a survey of Ghanaian university students in 1973/74 found that an increasing proportion of them were in fact being drawn from homes of higher socio-economic status, and a decreasing proportion from under-privileged homes (Sinclair, 1975). These data suggested that, rather than there being a broadening base of Ghanaian students as Peil suggests, there is indeed a narrowing base. Pessimistic views of future social mobility in West Africa are also taken by Hurd and Johnson (1967) and O'Connell and Beckett (1975).

The main reason for such pessimism is because of the declining rate of expansion of the elite. As previously noted, the

high rate of mobility into the elite was due to rather special circumstances, particularly the small size and rapid rate of expansion of the elite, and these special circumstances are unlikely to persist. For purely mathematical reasons, the rate of expansion of the elite is likely to slow down as its size increases, and this slow down is likely to be aggravated by the relatively slow rate of economic development in most West African societies. Although because the elite has grown in size there may still be more opportunities for social mobility in absolute terms, and the rates of mobility out of the lower socio-economic strata may even be higher, the rates of mobility into the elite are likely to be lower because of the declining rate of expansion of the elite.

Actually there is another alternative which might maintain the rate of mobility into the elite, and that is an increase in the rate of out-mobility from the elite to balance the continuing rate of upward mobility into the elite: i.e. exchange mobility could replace forced mobility so as to maintain the total rate of upward social mobility. But, as has already been noted, most upper status parents are able to give their children a good education, and this secures their socio-economic positions, which keeps downward mobility to a minimum; and there seems little reason to believe that this will change much in the immediate future. Hence the most likely consequence of a decline in the rate of expansion of the elite is a corresponding decline in the rate of mobility into the elite; and this will facilitate the crystallisation of social classes. As mobility between strata decreases, not only will these rates come to approximate more closely to those found

in Western industrialized societies, but also the cross-cutting ties between strata will be reduced, which will encourage the emergence of the social separation and cultural differentiation which characterise a fully-fledged class system. To conclude, the evidence presented in this chapter has already shown that, to some extent at least, the type of inequality of opportunity found in class systems already exists in the modern sectors of West African societies; and it is now being suggested that this is likely to increase in the future, which will further stimulate the process of class formation. Thus, from the point of view of social mobility, if it is not already legitimate to talk of classes in West Africa, then the time when it will be legitimate cannot be too far off.

Finally, we may close this chapter with a plea for further research on social mobility in West Africa. As noted in the introduction of this chapter, there seems to have been no comprehensive study of social mobility embracing a whole society in West Africa, and this is an omission which should be remedied. In particular, studies should be made which allow for the comparison of rates of mobility at different points in time, for evidence on whether rates of mobility are increasing or decreasing provides the best means of assessing the adequacy of these rates of social mobility. We are interested in the adequacy of such rates of mobility not only because of their affects on the development of social classes in West African societies, but also as a factor contributing to social justice

in these societies: from the rates of social mobility, we can assess the extent to which there is equality or inequality of opportunity, and hence the extent to which such educational and occupational opportunities are "fairly" distributed among the members of society. Of course the assessment of the "fairness" of the system involves the problems of value judgement; and it may be difficult for us to say in any absolute sense whether the degree of equality or inequality of opportunity is fair or not. But if we allow ourselves the simple assumption that more equality of opportunity is "fairer" than less equality of opportunity, then comparative study of the development of rates of social mobility in a single society over a period of time would at least allow us to decide whether the distribution of educational and occupational opportunities within that society were becoming more or less "fair"; and hence, other things remaining equal, whether there was an increase or decrease in social justice in that society.[1]

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[1] Of course, from a more radical point of view, social justice does not depend only on the extent of equality of opportunity, but also on the extent of equality in a more absolute sense - i.e. it depends also on the extent of equality in the distribution of rewards in society, and not just on equality of opportunity in reaching differentially rewarded positions in a society based on absolute inequality. Some of these wider issues are discussed in Sinclair (1975).

PART 3

OCCUPATIONAL SELECTION AND ADJUSTMENT AMONG SECONDARY SCHOOL LEAVERS

CHAPTER 3: Occupational aspirations, expectations and achievements.

This chapter will continue two of the functions of the previous chapter: firstly, it will continue to provide information on the basic characteristics of respondents - in this case particularly on their occupational characteristics - and secondly, it will provide further information on the distribution of opportunities for social mobility. In the last chapter it was shown that educational opportunities are not evenly distributed among the different socio-economic groups in Sierra Leone; and in this chapter an attempt will be made to discover whether, within the present sample, respondents from more privileged homes also had an advantage over others in obtaining the more popular, better-rewarded occupational positions.

The primary aim of this chapter, however, is to study the processes of occupational selection and adaptation among secondary school leavers in Sierra Leone. Answers will be sought to questions such as the following: What kind of occupations did respondents aspire to while at school? .... What kind of occupations did they actually obtain on leaving school; and how did these compare with their original aspirations? .... What kind of factors influenced respondents original aspirations, and the type of job they actually obtained? .... To what extent were the respondents satisfied with the kind of jobs they were able to obtain, and what factors accounted for their level of satisfaction? From the answers to such questions, an attempt will be made to build up a picture of the pattern of occupational selection and adaptation among secondary school leavers in Sierra Leone.

The problems of adolescence and the transition to adulthood have been a constant theme among sociologists in industrialised societies; and prominent among these problems are those of the transition from school to work. For the present purposes, three main stages of this process may be isolated, each of which poses its own problems: firstly, the stage of choosing an occupation; secondly, the stage of actually obtaining a job; and thirdly, the stage of adjusting to the job after it has been obtained. The first stage involves occupational preferences, and the choice of an occupation or a number of occupations from the range available. By contrasting Samoan society with that of the United States, Margaret Mead shows that many of the problems of American youth are a product of the complexity of the choices which they are called on to make (Mead, 1943, chs. 13 and 14); and this is especially so in the occupational field. While in non-industrialised societies there is only a limited range of occupations available, and most of these are often filled by ascription rather than choice, in industrialised societies a young person must choose between a multiplicity of occupations, on most of which he has little information. And the choice of job is particularly important for the young person because it is likely to have an important effect on his position in society and style of life for the rest of his career.

The second stage of the problem of occupational selection consists of actually obtaining a job. The problem of choice is complicated by the fact that not all jobs are rewarded and evaluated equally. Young people must therefore choose between

jobs some of which are more highly rewarded and evaluated than others; and the tendency is for many young people to aspire to the few jobs which are most highly rewarded and evaluated. These are what Ginzberg refers to first as their "fantasy choices" and later as their "tentative" choices (Ginzberg et.al., 1951). The unrealistically high level of many of these choices may have a number of unfortunate consequences. Firstly, as many young people may be hoping to obtain the few most desired jobs, a spirit of competition may be encouraged, which may put undue pressure on many individuals, especially the less able. Secondly, for the less successful, compromise will be necessary, and this is often difficult for idealistic and inexperienced youth. As Blau points out, occupational selection is not only governed by individual preferences, but also by the availability of the desired occupations, and the relative abilities and qualifications, as perceived by potential employers, of the candidates hoping to obtain such occupations (Blau et.al.,1956). According to Ginzberg, as young people approach the time when they must enter the labour market, they must convert their "fantasy choices" and "tentative choices" into "realistic choices". Those who fail to achieve a satisfactory compromise between their original aspirations and the objective occupational opportunities actually available to them may experience a sense of failure, and will tend to feel dissatisfied with the jobs that they are able to obtain.

Two qualifications may be made about this statement. Firstly, a high level of aspirations is more likely to be found in a society with an ideology suggesting easy social mobility,

such as the United States, than in one in which educational and occupational opportunities are believed to vary widely between social classes, such as Britain and the other older European societies. Thus more compromise is necessary in the former type of society; and the unsuccessful are more likely to suffer from anomie. Secondly, compromise in any type of society is most necessary among the less successful, who are not only likely to be the less able in intellectual terms, but also to be drawn from less privileged backgrounds in socio-economic terms. But, as pointed out above, in the more rigidly stratified societies of Europe the latter may have had lower aspirations originally, as dictated by their class cultures; and so little compromise will be necessary when they enter the labour market. Thus the problems of compromise are likely to fall most heavily on those of lower status backgrounds in societies of the United States variety.[1]

The third set of problems involves adjustment in the actual work situation itself. Some writers appear to suggest that when young people enter the world of work, they may experience some form of "culture shock". Miller and Form, for example, point out that in making the transition from school to work, the young person must adjust from a familiar, child-centred environment to a strange new environment, in which he is the least important of the participants. In addition, there may be contradictory values

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[1] The classical description of this situation in the U.S.A., and its analysis in terms of the concept of anomie, is to be found in Merton (1957). However, Merton's formulation was criticised by Hyman (1953). More recent attempts to refine the concepts are found in Rodman (1963), Della Fave (1974), and Rodman, Voydanoff, and Lovejoy (1974).

in the school and work situations, with, for example, the former being based on compulsory memberships, cooperative activity and morally evaluated behaviour, while the latter is based on contractual membership, self-interest and essentially amoral behaviour patterns (Miller and Form, 1951, chs. 15-18). Such contrasts will make the transition from school to work more difficult than if there was greater continuity between the two situations. Once again it has been suggested that the difficulties may be more acute in the United States than in Britain, for the class nature of both schools and work in the latter case does provide considerable continuity. Thus Allen makes the following comments on studies which:

> ".... assume adjustment to work involves a 'culture shock' deriving from the clash of values between pre-work expectations and the realities of the work situation and discuss this 'shock' on the assumption than all school situations are the same. In Britain this latter assumption is quite unrealistic: schools are highly stratified and pre-work experience varies not only with the type of school, but also with class, neighbourhood, and family differences, whilst work situations can be differentiated along the lines of occupational and skill level, size, age and social composition of work group and so on. Unless these differences are recognized a blanket assumption about 'culture shock' can only obscure rather than explain the complex processes involved in different transitions from school to work" (Allen, 1974, p. 162).[1]

The main point of interest here, however, is that different writers have suggested that problems may occur for young people at each of the three stages of entering work - choice, achievement and adjustment - but the extent of these problems may vary in different

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[1] In commenting on the situation in Britain, with particular reference to a collection of papers, including Allen's, Sofer writes: "Indeed one of the central conclusions from this collection of papers must be that particular types of school experience go together with particular types of occupation in unitary social worlds" (Sofar, 1974, p. 40). This is very different from the view of Miller and Form quoted above.

situations.

For a number of reasons it seems possible that the West African school leaver will face even more acute problems of adjustment on leaving school than his European or American counterpart. One reason for this is that he may have to reconcile a contradiction not only between the cultures of the school situation and the work situation, but also between the traditional culture of his people and that of the Westernized economy which he is about to enter. As was seen in the last chapter, many secondary school leavers belong to the first generation of their families to be educated; and hence the full burden of reconciling traditional and modern cultures falls on their shoulders.

Two points on which these cultures may conflict, leading to problems of adjustment, may be mentioned briefly here. Firstly, as Banton implies, the definition of the relationship between employer and employee may be rather different in the traditional and modern situations (Banton, 1957, p. 114). In non-industrialized societies, most social relationships tend to be diffuse - or many-stranded - and the relationship between employer and employee is no exception. Unlike the modern employer, the traditional "master" is usually a paternalistic figure, who is fully responsible for the welfare of his "servant"; and he, in turn, can count on the total loyalty and services of the latter. Problems of adjustment may thus arise in the modern situation if the worker expects his employer to act in this traditional, paternalistic fashion, while the employer - especially if a European, or influenced by European ways - interprets the relationship in the

narrower, more particularistic sense which is usual in bureaucratic organisations. Secondly, it has often been noted that there may be a clash between the need for punctuality in a modern business enterprise, and the lack of concern with time-keeping in traditional African societies - bureaucratic organisations must run by the clock, and not according to so-called "African time". This again may lead to problems of adjustment for the African worker.

In certain societies, however, the problems of adjustment may be even more fundamental, for they may result from essentially negative attitudes in the traditional culture to employment and manual labour. As Banton writes:

> "The African does not believe in the dignity of labour; a 'big man' has wives, kinsmen, and servants to work for him, while the tendency to regard manual labour as degrading has been strengthened by the prestige now attached to administrative occupations" (Banton, 1957, p. 113).

Such attitudes are found particularly in the aristocratic strata of stratified societies, especially when they have previously relied on slave labour to do their chores; and such attitudes may be the cause of difficulties of adjustment to the modern employment situation among those who hold them. In an interesting study of the Fula in Lunsar, Northern Sierra Leone, Butcher shows how their attitudes to employment and manual labour may partially explain their reluctance to enter bureaucratic employment. Thus he explains that, "Linguistically, the Fulbe word for work, huwowo, and for worker, golowo, is interchangeable with the word for a person of slave status, macuudo" (Butcher, 1964, p. 37); and he goes on to state that:

> "Futa Jallon society, like that of other Fulbe, was maintained largely by means of slave labour before its abolition by the French in 1905 and by the English in 1926. Manual labour is repugnant to Freeborn Fula, who used slaves openly until its abolition. ..... Vieillard says that French suppression of slavery among the Fulbe is comparable with the destruction of capital in a bourgeoise state. .....
>
> "The sons of freemen were either cattle owners, or steered towards a dignified occupation such as the army, politics, religion and letters. In former times the Fulbe did not engage much in commerce which they left to the Serakulle, many of whom were clients of aristocratic families. The principal occupation of the army was to catch more slaves to work" (Butcher, 1964, pp. 37-38).

It is obvious that the Freeborn Fula, holding such attitudes, are unlikely to make an easy transition to the modern economy. A rather similar situation appears to have existed in Timbuctoo, where the high-born Arma despised employment and labour, while the more humble Gabibi were used to it, and were therefore able to make a better adjustment to the modern situation than their previous masters. Thus Miner writes the following of Timbuctoo:

> "The Arma does not want to work in the first place, and further he feels it is less degrading to live on charity than to do menial physical tasks. The Gabibi have always worked and now not only can they retain the product of their efforts but they can invade hitherto forbidden pursuits. As a group, the Gabibi are now probably richer than the Arma - a reversal which has come about in the last forty-five years" (Miner, 1953, p. 59).

Even among the reputedly hard-working and egalitarian Ibo, there may be an aversion to manual labour when slaves are available to do the hard work. Thus writing of the Nike of Eastern Nigeria, Udo states the following:

> "The migrant farmer has no difficulty negotiating a lease at Nike owing to the apathy of the local people towards farming. Nike people look down on such jobs as bush clearing, the digging of yam hills and the tapping of palmwine,

> all of which were formerly done by the large number of domestic slaves kept by them. At present they depend on hired labour for their farms, hence Horton's observation that, to the Nike farmer, 'going farm work' consists of sitting down under a shady tree and shouting an occasional word of encouragement to a toiling hired labourer" (Udo, 1964, p. 333).

Two final examples of the avoidance of manual labour may be mentioned. We are told that among the Agni of the Ivory Coast:

> "Characteristic of the adult male members of the tribe was their contempt for manual work. As long as there was a sufficient number of war captives ..... it was they who performed all the work" (Skalnikova, 1968, p. 149).

And among the Azande, members of the ruling clan: ".... kept themselves apart from the work process, i.e. neither the men nor the women worked manually, obtaining the necessary foodstuffs and articles of daily use from the commoners" (Kandert, 1968, p. 124).

To anyone familiar with the climate of tropical Africa, the avoidance of physical labour by those who are able is probably not surprising. And indeed leisure is one of the few rewards available to the successful in many non-industrialized societies which differentiates them from the rest of the population. The avoidance of the status of employee may be related partly to the love of independence, especially among aristocratic Africans, but also to the nature of the traditional employment situation, as described above. Traditional employment involved not just a contractual agreement to perform specific tasks in return for some form of remuneration, but an acceptance of total submission to the master; and as such it was a status to be avoided.

Another set of potential problems for the occupational adjustment of school leavers concerns their allegedly unrealistic level of occupational aspirations, especially for professional and other white collar employment. It is sometimes argued that the fact of having attended school - and particularly a school with a predominantly academic curriculum - makes school leavers unwilling to accept any employment except in white collar occupations; and such attitudes are the basic cause of unemployment and other problems of adjustment among school leavers. Thus, for example, Butcher, this time writing mainly of Temne school leavers in Lunsar, states that:

> "The aim in life that most of the Lunsar young men have is a negative one: the aim of not being a failure. The literate Africans who cannot get a clerical or typing job will do no work at all, as manual work is beneath their dignity" (Butcher, 1964, p. 215).[1]

The belief that educated Africans seek clerical jobs mainly because they "wish to stand on their dignity" was disputed as long ago as 1948 by Fortes, who, writing of Ashanti in the late 1940's, states:

> "It should be noted that there are sound objective reasons for such a tendency [i.e. to seek jobs in the white collar occupations in preference to manual trades and primary production]. In a country like the Gold Coast there is and has been for half a century at least an increasing demand for clerical service and commerce. There is also an increasing demand for other workers of a skilled or semi-skilled type in the European sector of the economy - in mining, in transport and so on. This demand has stimulated competition in acquiring educational qualifications and so stim-

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1 He continues, now writing of the Fulbe again:

> "The Fulbe disdain manual labour in the same way as the semi-educated Temne does, though not because they are literate but because the aristocratic idea that only slaves perform such work has been maintained" (Butcher, 1964, p. 215).

> ulated competition to enter schools. And any African who succeeded in gaining entry to the civil service, to commerce or to the higher grades of European economic activity is manifestly better off than the majority of farmers and unskilled producers. Moreover the demand for better and better trained clerical (and now also technical) workers is bound to increase rather than fall with further economic and social development. The enthusiasm for schools, though it is uncritical and naive, therefore has a sound economic basis, given the present economic structure of the country" (Fortes, 1948, pp. 32-33).

Foster is also concerned to show that the occupational aspirations and expectations of Ghanaian secondary school students are neither irrational nor unrealistic; and, in particular, that they are not mainly determined by considerations of status and dignity (Foster, 1965, ch. 8). Two of his conclusions are worth highlighting here. Firstly, Ghanaian secondary school students appear to have quite rational occupational aspirations. He shows that in fact students at secondary schools did not aspire to clerical work, but rather to higher occupations in the professions - particularly in technical fields. Such aspirations may be considered quite rational for secondary school students for two main reasons: firstly, because these are the most highly rewarded occupations in the society, particularly in monetary terms;[1] and secondly, because Foster's respondents were already well advanced in the educational system by Ghanaian standards, and therefore had a relatively good chance of proceeding to such higher status occupations.

The second of Foster's conclusions which is of interest here is that Ghanaian secondary school students also had a highly

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[1] And Foster shows that economic factors are more important than prestige in determining occupational preferences.

realistic understanding of the relationship between educational and occupational achievement: they knew that if they had to leave school immediately they would not be able to achieve their original occupational aspirations, but would probably become teachers or clerks. These are in fact the most common and best rewarded jobs for secondary school leavers in Ghana; and so their perceptions of the situation again appear quite realistic. As Foster himself admits, however, there is one vital point at which their expectations are quite unrealistic; and that is about their chances of proceeding to further education after leaving school. The great majority of his respondents believed that they would be able to continue with their education after Form V, and subsequently obtain the kind of jobs to which they had originally aspired, but as Foster points out there were only sufficient places for further education to absorb about one in four of the fifth form leavers (Foster, 1965, p. 263) Such unrealistic aspirations and expectations are a potential source of maladjustment among secondary school leavers in West Africa.

The problem of the adjustment of occupational aspirations to the realities of occupational opportunities are likely to be made particularly acute by three further factors. Firstly, as explained in the last chapter, there are only a very small number of high status positions available in Sierra Leone, and they are increasing at only a relatively slow rate. Only a small proportion of the aspirants, therefore, are likely to be able to secure such positions. Secondly, educational enrolment is increasing at a faster rate than the expansion of occupation-

al opportunities, and, as a result, education is being "devalued" in terms of the type of occupation which a given level of it will "buy". Thus, for example, while a generation ago, primary education might have been sufficient to secure a clerical job, and a decade ago the lower forms of secondary education might have been acceptable, most clerical workers today are recruited from among Form V leavers. As occupational aspirations and expectations tend to be based on the"rate of exchange" between education and occupation in the previous period, this "educational devaluation" may lead to unrealistic aspirations and expectations among school leavers, and hence to problems of adjustment.[1]

Finally, there may be a particular problem of adjustment among young people from lower status homes. The work of Foster and Clignet shows that there is relatively little difference in the educational and occupational aspirations of secondary school students from differing socio-economic backgrounds (Foster, 1965, ch. 8; Clignet and Foster, 1966, ch. 6). In particular, Foster suggests that, unlike the situation in Europe, education in West Africa is seen as a "popular institution" - i.e. open to all, regardless of socio-economic background - and this is at least partially a true reflection of the wide distribution of educational opportunities. In the last chapter, however, it was shown that there is in fact considerable social selectivity in secondary education, and this seems likely to increase in the future.

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[1] For a discussion of this with reference to Ghana, see Foster (1965, pp. 262-3). Some of these points are also likely to hold true in industrialized societies. Thus Sofer writes: "At any choice point in his career, the individual's interests, skills, and preferences are affected by <u>past</u> social structure, but educational opportunities and requirements for entry to occupations are determined by the structure then current" (1974, p. 31).

The aspirations of individuals from less privileged socio-economic backgrounds, therefore, are particularly likely to be thwarted, thus increasing their problems of adjustment on entering employment. With their ideologies of open opportunity, West African societies are more like the American than the British model; and they are therefore likely to encounter problems similar to those described above for the United States.[1]

So this chapter will be concerned with the processes and problems of occupational selection and adaptation among secondary school leavers in Sierra Leone. It will examine the respondents' occupational aspirations, expectations and achievements, and attempt to assess the degree of ease or difficulty with which they obtained jobs, and adapted to them when they had been obtained. In addition it will be concerned with whether there are any significant variations in these processes and problems between respondents of differing socio-economic backgrounds, indicating differential opportunities for social mobility. It has been suggested that secondary school leavers from less privileged homes may face greater difficulties in obtaining the kind of jobs to which they aspire, and thus have greater problems of adaptation than school leavers from more privileged homes. This proposition will be examined.

Before turning to the data, however, a final methodological point should be noted. The emphasis in this and the following chapter will be on the longitudinal change and develop-

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[1] For a discussion of this similarity, see Foster (1965, especially pp. 301-302).

ment of respondents' occupational aspirations, expectations and achievements over a period of time, spanning their school days, leaving school and their present situation. Previous studies of this kind in both industrialized and non-industrialized societies have usually interviewed respondents while they were still in school, and have attempted to demonstrate the existence of both fantasy aspirations and realistic expectations by asking them firstly, what jobs they would ideally like, and secondly, what jobs they would expect to obtain if they had to leave school immediately with their present qualifications.[1] The present study has an advantage , for most respondents were already in employment at the time they were interviewed; and so it was possible to ask them firstly, what jobs they had aspired to while still in school; and secondly, what jobs they looked for on leaving school; and to compare these with the jobs they actually obtained. Such an approach covers roughly the same ground as the first method using secondary school pupils, but has a greater factual basis.

This method, however, does retain an important disadvantage of the previous studies in that respondents were interviewed at only a single point in time about events and attitudes which may have spanned a number of years; and this must result in variations in the validity of the data. Thus it seems probable that data on present events and attitudes will have greater validity than those on past events and particularly on past attit-

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[1] This method was used, for example, by Foster (1965) and Clignet and Foster (1966).

udes; and that, in particular, some respondents will project backwards from their present situation and attitudes in "recalling" their previous aspirations and expectations. Such a tendency must be kept in mind when data on these are analysed. A more satisfactory study of the development of occupational aspirations and attitudes would require the interviewing of respondents at a number of points in time - for example, before they left school, just after leaving school, and after a number of years in employment - and, although the use of such a method was not possible in the present study, it is hoped that it will be utilised in future research.[1]

Occupational aspirations

Let us first examine the occupational aspirations which respondents reported they had while still in school. These may be equated with the"fantasy aspirations" of other studies, for they consist of the occupations most desired by respondents, irrespective of their qualifications; and they appear to be usually based on the rather dubious assumption that they would continue with their education beyond the secondary level. As all the respondents had ceased their full-time education, at least temporarily, by the time they were interviewed, this assumption was obviously unrealistic. These aspirations were not totally fantastic, however, for by attending secondary school the respondents were already well advanced on the academic route to the occupations of their choice, some of their friends from school had con-

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1 An example of this approach is to be found in Carter (1969).

TABLE 3.1: Occupational aspirations while at school (males only).

Aspirations	Creoles		Provincials		Total	
Senior civil service	6	(8%)	12	(8%)	18	(8%)
Professional	34	(46%)	78	(51%)	112	(49%)
Teaching	7	(9%)	13	(8%)	20	(9%)
Nursing	0	(-)	4	(3%)	4	(2%)
Clerical	6	(8%)	8	(5%)	14	(6%)
Technical	2	(3%)	4	(3%)	6	(3%)
Manual	4	(5%)	11	(7%)	15	(7%)
Farming	5	(7%)	15	(10%)	20	(9%)
Other	10	(14%)	8	(5%)	18	(8%)
None, don't know	(3)		(7)		(10)	
total aspirations[1]	74	(100%)	153	(100%)	227	(100%)

[1] This is a total of all occupational choices, and is higher than the number of respondents making such choices as multiple choices were allowed. All percentages are calculated relative to this total.

tined on this route beyond the secondary level, at university and other institutions of higher education, and some of the respondents might still be able to follow.

Previous studies in West Africa, particularly those of Foster and Clignet, have indicated that the fantasy aspirations of secondary school students are extremely high; and the present survey confirms such findings. Responses on the occupational aspirations of members of the sample are set out in Tables 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3. The obvious fact emerging from these is that pro-

TABLE 3.2: Occupational aspirations while at school (females only).

Aspirations	Creoles		Provincials		Total	
Senior civil service	1	(2%)	1	(14%)	2	(4%)
Professional	7	(15%)	2	(29%)	9	(17%)
Teaching	13	(28%)	3	(43%)	16	(30%)
Nursing	13	(28%)	1	(14%)	14	(26%)
Clerical	13	(28%)	0	(-)	13	(24%)
None, don't know			(1)		(1)	
Total aspirations[1]	47	(101%)	7	(100%)	54	(101%)

[1] See footnote (1) to Table 3.1.

fessional occupations are by far the most popular, constituting 43% of all replies. The professions have been traditionally highly valued by educated members of colonised societies for they combine a relatively high and reliable source of income and prestige with freedom from interference by the "colonial masters"; and these advantages remain important in independent ex-colonies where political victimisation and tribalism are a threat to those in government service. In addition, many professions are valued because they offer opportunities for the accumulation of wealth and income from multiple sources: thus a professional can work for the government and also do private work outside office hours, or even sometimes within them! The professions also offer opportunities for achieving the coveted status of self-employment.

Information on the actual professions to which respondents aspired is set out in Table 3.3. As suggested by other studies

TABLE 3.3: Professional ambition by tribe (both sexes).

Profession	Creoles		Provincials		Total	
Medicine	13	(32%)	32	(40%)	45	(37%)
Law	9	(22%)	12	(15%)	21	(17%)
Accountancy	9	(22%)	7	(9%)	16	(13%)
Engineering	5	(12%)	21	(26%)	26	(22%)
Other	5	(12%)	8	(10%)	13	(11%)
None	(64)		(75)		(139)	
Total professions[1]	41	(100%)	80	(100%)	121	(100%)

1. This is the total of all professional choices; and all percentages are calculated relative to this total.

in Africa, medicine appears to be the most sought after profession: it constituted 37% of the professional choices; and, as can be seen by comparison with Tables 3.1 and 3.2, in terms of absolute numbers it was larger than any other occupational category. Engineering was the second most popular profession (22% of responses), followed by law (17%) and accountancy (13%). The remainder of the professions mentioned consisted of a scatter of the "newer" professions, in the fields of university teaching, pure and applied science, and architecture. It is noteworthy that, though Sierra Leone has the reputation of being a highly religious country, no student chose divinity. This is consistent with the fact that in the 1968/69 session at Fourah Bay College, only two students were registered in the Theology Department.

It thus appears that respondents were interested in a range of professions which included not only the traditional professions, such as law and medicine, but also the newer ones, such as engineering and accountancy. There appears to be no particular preference for either the older or the newer professions. A more important distinction is between the scientific and technological professions and the white collar professions; the present data on the professions, as well as on other occupational preferences, support Foster's conclusion that scientific and technological occupations, such as medicine and engineering, are more popular than white collar employment.

The proportion of choices for the professions is so overwhelming that other occupations are all mentioned comparatively infrequently. It is particularly noticeable that there was a complete absence of choices for political jobs, and only 7% of respondents said that they hoped to join the senior civil service, though it might be thought that these are the key positions within society. Foster found a similar indifference to such positions in Ghana; and he explains it in terms of the insecurity of a political or semi-political career under the present conditions (Foster, 1965, p. 277). So the factors which discourage respondents from entering politics and administration may be merely the other side of the coin from those which attract them to the free professions.

Among other occupations which were mentioned by the respondents were teaching, which made up 13% of occupational aspirations, clerical and similar white collar employment (10%), nurs-

ing (6%), and manual occupations (5%).[1] These may be considered among the more "realistic" respondents, insofar as they have fairly limited occupational aspirations. As will be seen below, however, except in the case of respondents aspiring to manual occupations, this realism is associated mainly with female respondents who have, on average, lower aspirations than male respondents.

It may also be noted that 7% of respondents aspired to agricultural employment. This did not mean, however, that they wished to become ordinary farmers using traditional methods: they usually specified that their ambition was to become a technical officer in the civil service, or a large-scale farmer using modern methods, sometimes emphasising the status to which they aspired by the use of the term "agriculturalist". Although traditional farming has very little attraction for them, it appears that there is no hostility to a career in agriculture, but that educated young people will only be attracted into farming when an adequate infra-structure is provided. The remaining occupations in the residual category include jobs in the police and armed forces, as well as various technical occupations.

In their studies in Ghana and the Ivory Coast, Foster and Clignet found that there were important variations in occupational aspirations between males and females, but that there was

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[1] The majority of respondents aspiring to white collar employment were thinking in terms of general clerical work, or, particularly among females, secretarial work and typing; but a few mentioned more specialised fields such as librarianship. Of those aspiring to manual occupations, almost half (8) said that they wished to be motor mechanics.

little variation between respondents from differing socio-economic backgrounds. Comparison of Tables 3.1 and 3.2 shows that the occupational aspirations of females were indeed much more modest than those of males. Whereas about half of the occupational choices of males were for high status professional occupations, this was true of only about one sixth of the female choices.[1] The latter were instead concentrated in middle-level occupations: thus 30% of female choices were for teaching, and nursing and clerical work each accounted for about one quarter, compared with equivalent figures of 9%, 2% and 6% for males. In the white collar category, females appeared particularly interested in secretarial and typing jobs, 11 of their 13 clerical choices going for such occupations.

From the data available it appears that the occupational aspirations of females in developing countries like Sierra Leone are very similar to those in Western industrialized societies, being mainly confined to the three fields of primary school teaching, nursing and white collar employment. The explanation for this apparent limitation on female occupational aspirations - even at the fantasy level - would appear to lie in the fact that these are the types of occupation which society defines as suitable for its members of "the weaker sex". They aspire to such occupations mainly because they have been socialised to prefer them; but it is also probable that they recognise that these are the occupations they have most chance of obtaining.

In contrast to the important variation between the sexes, there appeared to be relatively little variation between the occup-

[1] The majority of female choices (8/9) were in the traditional professions of medicine, law and dentistry.

ational aspirations of respondents of differing socio-economic backgrounds. At first sight it does appear that Provincials are more likely to choose professional occupations, and Creoles to choose teaching, nursing and clerical occupations: thus 50% of Provincial choices were for the professions, compared with 34% of Creole choices; while 44% of Creole choices were for teaching, nursing and other white collar employment, compared with only 18% of Provincial choices. Closer examination of the data, however, as in Tables 3.1 and 3.2, reveals that this is mainly a result of the variations between the sexes, females comprising a much larger proportion of the Creoles than of the Provincials. Among males alone, however, there remains a very slight tendency for Provincials to be more likely to choose professional occupations than Creoles, 51% of Provincial choices being for professions compared with 46% of Creole choices. The only other interesting variation is that among females, only Creoles chose clerical work. The number of Provincial females is very small, and so the result is not statistically significant; but it may indicate that Provincial females see fewer opportunities for clerical work.

There also appears to be a slight variation between Creoles and Provincials in their professional choices: Creoles were relatively more likely to choose accountancy and law, while Provincials seemed to prefer medicine and engineering. The differences are small, however, and in both groups medicine is clearly the most popular profession. If any explanation is required of this relatively small variation, it may lie in the

fact that the more sophisticated urban experience of the Creoles draws their attention to the less obvious professions of law and accountancy, while for the Provincials, coming as they do from the less developed parts of Sierra Leone, the more practical professions such as medicine and engineering appear to have priority. Such an interpretation would appear to be partially supported by the reasons given by the respondents themselves for wanting particular types of occupation.

A detailed analysis of the reasons for these aspirations is not possible here: the collection of information on this was not sufficiently rigorous, and the answers tended to be rather vague. It is possible, however, to sketch in some of the main factors to which respondents attributed their choices. The factor mentioned by the largest number of respondents - about one third of the total - was the nature of the work itself. Respondents were particularly vague about this, however; and were usually only able to say that they just liked the work, or had a natural interest in it. Some of these aspirations had apparently been formed at an early age; and particularly respondents who aspired to be doctors said that they had been interested in the work since small. Aspirant teachers were likely to say that they liked working with children, while aspirant accountants said that they liked working with facts and figures. An aspirant architect said that while at school he had liked drawing and building things, and that he was good at maths.

Respondents appeared in some cases to be influenced in their aspirations by their secondary school careers, their famil-

ies and their friends. Almost one fifth of respondents mentioned that they were influenced by their school careers, and particularly by the subjects they were studying at school, either because their stream concentrated on certain subjects, or because they were good at certain subjects, or just liked them. For example, a Creole clerk said that he had wanted to be a lecturer in history because he had been doing arts subjects at school; while another Creole clerk also attributed his aspirations either to be a lecturer in political science or a representative for Sierra Leone at the United Nations to the fact that he had been in the Arts stream. A Creole female said that she would have liked to become a nutrition expert because she liked domestic science at school, and had been advised on this by a lecturer. A Kono clerk said that his ambition had been to become a scientist - and particularly an entomologist - because he had been good at biology at school; while a Limba clerk had wanted to be a civil engineer because he had been interested in maths, and had taken first position in class in both maths and physics. A Mende clerk had wanted to follow a career in commerce because he had done well in the subject at school, and had been encouraged at it by his teacher. A number of other respondents also said that they wanted careers in commerce because they had been in the commercial stream in school.

Sometimes the school curriculum may have a negative effect on occupational aspirations. According to a Creole clerk he had had a liking for medicine since he was small, but after Form IV he was transferred to the arts stream, and he then

decided to become an economist. After analysing all the professions for arts students, he thought that this was the most fitting for him - there were few economists in the country, and it was suitable for his type of education. An unemployed Loko had transferred his aspirations from engineering to architecture because his school had no laboratories, and he could not therefore do the science subjects necessary for engineering. A Fula library assistant had at first wanted to do economics, and enter the administrative section of the civil service, for developing countries need economists, but mathematics were too dull for him. Other activities at school may also influence a student's occupational aspirations: thus a Creole library assistant had been attracted to librarianship because he had worked in the school library while still a student; and a Creole clerk had been attracted to engineering because a member of the engineering department at Fourah Bay College had given a lecture at his school on the importance of engineering for the development of Sierra Leone.

Other influences on occupational aspirations stemmed from the respondents' families, friends, and acquaintances, both in the form of examples and advice. Thus a Mende clerk had at first wanted to be a sanitary inspector because his uncle had been one, and he had accompanied him on his rounds; but by the time he had reached Form III he had changed his ambition to either medicine or accountancy. One Creole became interested in engineering because that was the career of his father; and another was similarly attracted to accountancy. A Mende mach-

ine operator had the ambition to be a motor mechanic because his uncle had a garage in Bo, and he used to stay with him and help him during the school holidays. An aspirant doctor obtained the idea from the fact that his uncle was studying medicine in Russia; while an aspirant sailor decided to follow a friend who had done navigation at college. A Temne machine operator had the idea of doing engineering craft because one of his friend's brothers had done it, and was now in Russia in his final year of a B.Sc. in mechanical engineering. Thus it is not only relatives and friends who may act as models: a Creole teacher had been attracted to this profession because he had particularly loved and admired one of his teachers at school; a Temne nurse had been attracted to medicine because of his admiration for a young doctor in Bo; and a number of respondents said that they had been attracted to law by visiting the courts, and observing lawyers at work.

Advice was also important in some cases, as with a Mende teacher whose brother advised him to do geology, and a Creole clerk who was interested in commerce by a school friend. As with school subjects, advice may also have a negative effect. Thus a Fula clerk had been interested in law, but his father, a highly religious man, had discouraged him because lawyers tell lies. It might be thought that in a country such as Sierra Leone, where many of the relatives of a student may have little experience of the modern world, that the effects of the family on occupational aspirations would be diminished, and that those of the school and peer group would be correspondingly greater.

This may well be so, but the tradition of respect for elders also has a countervailing effect. There were even some cases in the sample in which young people were placed directly in jobs by their fathers, sometimes partly against their own wishes. The fact that parents and other relatives may still have considerable influence over their children though they have only limited experience of the modern world may be one of the factors accounting for the concentration of occupational aspirations in such a narrow field of well-known occupations, particularly the professions. These are the only modern occupations which their rural parents know and respect. This, however, is only a hypothesis, and requires further testing.

Many respondents - between one fifth and one quarter - claimed to be interested in particular occupations for altruistic reasons - i.e. because such occupations would help the nation, other people in general, or their families in particular. Medicine and agriculture were particularly likely to be thought desirable in this respect. Thus a Creole clerk had wanted to be a doctor since his childhood, for the medical profession is of the greatest importance to human existence. The doctor can help mankind, and particularly the unhappy people in hospital. A Temne clerk had also originally hoped to be a doctor, for he felt that it was a profession which helps the nation, the poor generally, and also the doctor's own family. It is the best and most respected of professions. A respondent who said that he had aspired to be a nurse said that he hoped thereby to help his own people, as there was no qualified doctor in his village; and

another with the same ambition said that he would care for people and give priority to his friends. A number of respondents also said that they hoped to be the first doctor or the first lawyer from their village: sometimes the implication of this was not only that they would be able to help their people who had previously been neglected, but also that this would be a source of pride to them and their families.

A Mende tractor driver said that he had wished to study agriculture at college, for there are not many trained agriculturalists in Sierra Leone; and they are greatly needed for developing the country. He could thus help those who did not know how to treat their cocoa and coffee, and, in particular, his own father who had large plantations. A Temne teacher had wanted to become a District Commissioner. He had seen the difficulties of his own parents, for when they were taken to the District Commissioner they were sometimes punished. If he became a District Commissioner he would be able to defend his own people. These quotations illustrate interestingly how altruistic motives concerning national development and helping the community generally are often combined with the more particularistic motives of helping one's own family.

Other factors which were mentioned by between five and ten percent of respondents were the availability of jobs, the level of pay, and the educational nature of the job. For example, a Mende dragline operator said that he had wanted to become a mechanic because there were plenty of vehicles in Sierra Leone, and only a skilled man could make them work. So someone who could

repair them would make a lot of money, and the main thing in life is to get money. A Creole machine operator had first wanted to be an engine driver, but as time went on he decided to become a doctor. When he realised that he would have to leave school, however, he decided to become a mechanic, for it did not require so much education, and he would earn more money to maintain his grandmother. It is interesting, however, that relatively few respondents admitted the importance of such economic and career factors in moulding their aspirations.

It should also be noted that multiple causation operated in many cases, with a number of different factors reinforcing one another. For example, a Creole stated that he was interested in accountancy because he liked the work, because his father was an accountant, and because he had been in the commercial section at school. And a Creole machine operator had at first wanted to be an engineer, but when he found that his maths were too poor, he decided to be an electrician. This decision was reinforced by the fact that he had an uncle who was an electrician, and who gave him private lessons in the trade. From these examples it can be seen that it is not necessarily a single factor which leads to certain occupational preferences, but often a number of factors together guide an individual in a particular direction. And of course this direction may change over a period of time, with the individual favouring one occupation at one period of time, but later, as a result of a change in his circumstances, knowledge or attitudes, changing his preferences to another occupation. This is actually what we might expect.

Such an analysis in terms of the manifest reasons for occupational aspirations, however, can only touch on the surface of a satisfactory explanation of the pattern of occupational preferences. Two main difficulties arise from this approach. Firstly, even as an analysis of individual motivation in choosing occupations, it gives only a partial picture of the complexity of the situation. It hardly allows for the effect of multiple motives, nor for motives which may be suppressed by the respondents, either consciously because they are believed to be discreditable, or unconsciously because they are unknown to the respondent himself, or because he cannot adequately express them in words. Secondly, although the analysis of individual motivation may be helpful in explaining the choices made in particular cases, it does not necessarily give an adequate explanation of the total pattern. To borrow Durkheim's terms, it may explain the <u>incidence</u> of preferences - i.e. why particular individual's make the choices they do - without necessarily explaining the overall <u>rates</u> of choice. In other words it may not explain the total pattern, for, as Durkheim shows for suicide, this may have more meaning sociologically than can be extracted from the summation of the motivation in individual cases.

It is necessary for sociologists to attempt to go beyond the level of individual motivation to explain the total pattern of preferences in terms of the structure of the society itself. To explain the pattern of preferences simply in terms of the motives expressed by individuals would ignore the effects of the

wider social processes which mould the expressed motives and the preferences themselves. For example, the high proportion of choices for the professions may be attributed to the rewards which society offers them; and, as will be seen more clearly in the next chapter, the pattern of occupational aspirations correlates closely with the general evaluation of occupations in Sierra Leone.

Finally, occupational aspirations are only one side of the process of occupational selection. For a person to obtain a job it is not enough that he should aspire to it - there must also be such jobs available, and he must be considered suitably qualified by the employing agent. The term occupational choice has two meanings: it has sometimes been used to refer to the formation of aspirations or preferences, and this aspect has been discussed in this section; but on other occasions it has referred to the actual process of obtaining a job, and it is to this second aspect that we must now turn.

Occupational expectations

The majority of respondents based their occupational aspirations on the assumption that they would be able to continue with their education after successful completion of their secondary school career; but, as this was not so in most cases, they usually had to lower their immediate aspirations on leaving school. In studies of West African secondary school students by Foster and Clignet, respondents were asked what kind of jobs they would be likely to obtain if they were unable to continue

their studies beyond their present level; and it was found that the distribution of these expected occupations was much lower than their original aspirations. In the present study, as respondents had already left school when they were interviewed, it was possible to ask them about the kind of jobs they actually looked for on leaving school; and their answers are summarised in Tables 3.4 and 3.5, broken down by sex and tribe. When these figures are compared with those on original aspirations, given in Tables 3.1 and 3.2, a considerable lowering of levels of aspiration may be noted, very similar to that observed by Foster and Clignet.

While professional occupations predominated among occupational aspirations, clerical and other white collar occupations formed the majority of jobs sought on leaving school. It appears that about half of all respondents had first looked for clerical work; and, though a few mentioned more specialised fields such as secretarial work or librarianship, the great majority would have been happy to accept any kind of white collar job. About equal proportions of males and females said that they were looking for clerical work, but female respondents were particularly likely to say that they wanted jobs as secretaries and typists. They only accounted, however, for slightly more than one fifth (6/28) of all female choices for clerical and other white collar occupations. It is significant that no respondents chose the professional or administrative occupations which were so prominent among their occupational aspirations while at school; and a smaller proportion chose careers in agriculture. They realised

TABLE 3.4: Jobs sought on leaving school by tribe (males only).

Jobs	Creoles		Provincials		Total	
Teaching	7	(11%)	34	(20%)	41	(18%)
Nursing	0	(-)	6	(4%)	6	(3%)
Clerical	42	(64%)	79	(47%)	121	(52%)
Technical	10	(15%)	8	(5%)	18	(8%)
Manual	6	(9%)	33	(20%)	39	(17%)
Farming	0	(-)	3	(2%)	3	(1%)
Other	1	(1%)	4	(2%)	5	(2%)
None, anything, student	(4)		(15)		(19)	
Total jobs[1]	66	(100%)	167	(100%)	233	(100%)

[1] This is the total of all job choices, and is higher than the number of respondents making such choices as multiple responses were allowed. The percentages were calculated relative to the total number of job choices.

TABLE 3.5: Jobs sought on leaving school by tribe (females only).

Jobs	Creoles		Provincials		Total	
Teaching	12	(29%)	4	(44%)	16	(32%)
Nursing	4	(10%)	2	(22%)	6	(12%)
Clerical	25	(61%)	3	(33%)	28	(56%)
None, anything, student	(3)		(1)		(4)	
Total jobs[1]	41	(100%)	9	(100%)	50	(100%)

[1] See footnote (1) above.

correctly that, having terminated their education earlier than they expected, they would no longer be able to enter such occupations at the levels to which they aspired, if indeed they could enter them at all. Instead they were more likely to seek work particularly as clerical workers, but also as teachers, technicians and manual workers.[1] As Foster points out, the predominance of white collar choices is not because respondents are particularly keen on clerical jobs, but because these are the jobs that they believe are most available and suitable for workers of their educational level (Foster, 1965, pp. 282-284). In this they are probably being quite realistic. It should be noted, however, that though they are seeking such occupations, they do not necessarily plan to have careers in them. As will be seen in the next chapter, many of them still retain more exalted long-term ambitions.

The differences in the occupational expectations of males and females on leaving school are much less than the differences in their occupational aspirations while still at school. Thus over half of both males and females were looking for clerical work on leaving school. The remaining choices of females were concentrated in the fields of teaching and nursing, while those of males were more diversified, including not only teaching and nursing, but also technical and manual employment. Nevertheless, the overall impression is of convergence, at least in the short run, of the occupational expectations of males and females.

The reasons for this convergence may be sought mainly in the lowering of male occupational aspirations after leaving

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[1] Of those seeking manual work, 18 wished to be mechanics.

school. As indicated in the previous section, most female aspirations were at a "realistic" level even while they were still at school, and hence did not need much adjustment when they left. Teaching, for example, constituted about 30% of their responses on both aspirations while at school and expectations after leaving school. Clerical work was of increasing importance, however, rising from about one quarter of aspirations while at school to over half of jobs sought on leaving school, thus balancing the declining importance of the professions and nursing. These changes, however, were not particularly large, and were mainly within the same status category, indicating considerable stability in the level of occupational aspirations of females between the time they were attending school and the time they left school.

The occupational aspirations of males, on the other hand, were characterised by a sharp decline on leaving school. Thus, while 57% of male respondents had aspirations for high status jobs in the professions and senior civil service when still at school, such plans were no longer feasible when they had to leave; and while only 17% of their aspirations had been for medium status occupations such as teaching, nursing and clerical work - i.e. those occupations favoured by females - when still at school, this proportion had increased to 73% by the time they left school. It thus appears that the divergence in the occupational aspirations of males and females while at school largely disappears when they leave school, particularly when viewed in terms of the status level of these occupations; and this may be attributed mainly to

the downward adjustment of male "fantasy aspirations" as they come to terms with the reality of the actual occupational opportunities open to them with their level of education.

It is also possible to examine whether the occupations sought on leaving school varied according to the respondents' socio-economic backgrounds. It has already been seen that background is a relatively unimportant determinant of aspirations while at school, but studies in the United States have suggested that while it may have little effect on "fantasy aspirations" it is likely to have more influence on "realistic expectations".[1] Thus, though respondents from differing socio-economic backgrounds may share the same basic set of values on the most desirable occupations, those from less privileged homes are less likely to expect to be able to obtain the most desirable jobs. This is what Rodman has referred to as "value-stretch" among those from lower status backgrounds.

Examination of Tables 3.4 and 3.5 does suggest that there are slight differences between Creoles and Provincials in terms of the jobs they sought on leaving school. Thus among both males and females, Creoles were more likely than Provincials to choose clerical jobs, while Provincials were more likely than Creoles to choose teaching; and in the exclusively male occupations it appears that Creoles were more likely to choose technical jobs and Provincials to choose manual ones. As clerical and technical jobs are usually better rewarded both in terms of

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[1] See, for example, Rodman (1963) and Rodman, Voydanoff, and Lovejoy (1974). For a more critical view, see Della Fave (1974).

income and prestige than primary school teaching and manual occupations, this would support the hypothesis that those from homes of higher socio-economic status are likely to have higher occupational expectations than those from homes of lower socio-economic status. It should be noted, however, that the variations are relatively small, and that, at least in the case of males, the largest proportion of respondents among both Creoles and Provincials appeared to prefer clerical work.

The fact that a higher proportion of lower status respondents looks for teaching jobs supports similar findings by Foster, Clignet and Peil (Foster, 1965, p. 282; Clignet and Foster, 1966, p. 131; Peil, 1968, p. 77); and it is worth examining in more detail. Commenting on his findings, Foster writes:

> "This kind of evidence supports a general contention that teaching in Ghana as in most countries constitutes the principal mode of occupational mobility for lower status groups and may constitute a 'staging post' in general patterns of upward mobility" (Foster, 1965, p. 282).

And Peil also writes:

> "For many, teaching was just a temporary job; they hoped to go on to further education or get some special training. Some will return eventually to farming. Those who seriously consider teaching as a career tend to come from rural homes, a phenomenon not limited to Ghana. An important factor here is that training college is seen as a 'poor man's secondary school' whereby a boy whose family cannot afford secondary school fees may eventually attain the university - and so get out of teaching" (Peil, 1968, p. 77).

Apart from the fact that teaching is considered a lower status profession, and thus requires less competition with more privileged members of the community, there are a number of rea-

sons why lower status children are attracted into teaching. Firstly, teaching can be entered on a number of different levels, and it is possible for someone with poor qualifications to enter the profession at a low level, and then, by gradually improving his qualifications, to steadily move up a well-defined career ladder. Secondly, the further education of the student-teacher is subsidised in more ways than most other types of further education, and this is what makes the teacher training college the "poor man's secondary school". Another factor which may be particularly important in the present context is that members of the teaching profession are scattered throughout Sierra Leone, while clerical workers are concentrated in the Western Area. Thus Provincial school children are more often presented with the role of the teacher than that of the clerk as an occupational model; and, in addition, there are more actual opportunities for teachers than for clerks in the Provinces. These factors work in the opposite direction for Creoles who mainly come from the Western Area where clerical work is more common. Finally, it seems probable that Provincials have fewer contacts than Creoles with the "big men" who might help them obtain the more desirable clerical positions.

The types of occupation sought by respondents cannot be explained in terms of their preferences, for these were expressed in their occupational aspirations while at school, and many of the respondents still saw those aspirations as their ultimate goal. Instead, as Foster realised, the jobs they look for on leaving school are determined by their need to earn a

living, and their realisation of the restricted opportunities open to them with their present levels of education. As a Mende respondent put it: "In Sierra Leone you do not plan a career unless your people are well-off - you cater to any career." In saying this he was drawing on his own experience, for he became a printer although his original ambition had been to be a doctor; and he had taken some time to become reconciled to his change of fortunes. A number of respondents said that they did not look for any job on leaving school, as they still had hopes of being able to continue with their studies; and some of these had to be persuaded by their parents, relatives or friends to start work. The majority, however, recognised the need to obtain a job, if only to provide for the immediate necessities of life, and sometimes also to provide financial resources for attempts to further their education in the hope of acquiring more qualifications, and thus a better job. In these circumstances, many respondents said that they would have accepted any job, or that they would have done anything for money. Others qualified their position, however, as in the case of an unemployed Yulunka who said that he would do any job that was reasonable to his standard, meaning Form V of secondary school - i.e. any job apart from manual labour. An unemployed Mende also said that he would be prepared to do any job apart from labouring. Though mentioned specifically by only a few respondents, such attitudes would seem to be typical of many. The majority of respondents were looking for clerical or other white collar employment, not because they had any special preference for such occupations, but because they recognised that

it was in such occupations that they had greatest chance of gaining employment.

Not only did respondents feel that clerical jobs were the most common, but also that they were particularly suited to them by their level and type of education. There were vague beliefs in a general connection between white collar employment and Western education, and also more specific beliefs, particularly among those who did commercial subjects at school, that secondary education is a training for white collar employment. Some respondents, however, looked at this from a more negative angle, saying that their education did not qualify them for any other occupation, such as teaching or technical jobs; and that they therefore had to become clerks. Thus one respondent said that as he was not qualified to teach, he had to become a clerk; another that he became a clerk because he was not able to do any other work; and a third that clerical work was most common for unqualified school leavers in Sierra Leone, for they cannot teach.[1] There was a general feeling, then, that clerical work was the most common and natural form of employment for secondary school leavers in Sierra Leone.

Level and type of education are also important in explaining the choices of the minority of respondents who did not choose clerical employment. Those leaving school early, for example, were less likely to look for clerical employment and more likely to look for manual jobs: thus only 6% (2/32) of the jobs sought

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[1] Unqualified school leavers could of course gain employment as teachers: what the respondent may have meant was that they would have a very low level of pay compared with either the qualified teacher or the unqualified school leaver in clerical employment.

by respondents leaving school before Form IV were clerical, compared with 43% (20/47) for those leaving in Form IV, and 62% (127/204) for those leaving in Forms V and VI; while 69% (22/32) of the jobs sought by those leaving before Form IV were manual, compared with 15% (7/47) for those leaving in Form IV, and only 5% (10/204) for those leaving in Forms V and VI. In contrast, there does not appear to be much variation in the proportion of aspirant teachers in the various educational categories.

The small proportion of choices for clerical work, and the correspondingly high proportion of choices for manual occupations among those who left secondary school early may be partially attributed to their recognition that they cannot compete for the former type of job with those who had completed their secondary education. It is also affected by vocational training, for the majority of respondents who had left secondary school between Form I and III had received some form of further education in a technical institute or trade centre - indeed, they had to have some form of further education to be included in the sample - and this predisposed them to some form of manual work consistent with their training.

If we wish to push the argument one stage further back, we must attempt to explain why they left the academic stream and entered vocational training in the first place. Two explanations suggest themselves. Firstly, respondents may have decided to enter skilled or semi-skilled employment, and have deliberately enrolled at a vocational school as a step towards this end. Secondly, they may have found themselves unable to continue with

their normal academic secondary education, either because of academic or financial difficulties, and have entered a vocational institution as a cheaper, if less desirable, method of continuing their education. Although the first explanation undoubtedly plays a part, the second may be a more important factor, for it would help explain the high proportion of Provincials from under-privileged homes who attend vocational institutions, and subsequently enter manual employment, compared with Creoles. For such people, vocational training, like teacher training, provides a subsidised way of continuing with their education.[1] This does not necessarily mean that respondents were uninterested in technical education, but to achieve the most desirable technical education, and hence the types of technical occupations which they preferred, they would have had to complete their secondary education, and begun their technical education at a post-secondary level.

This argument also applies, though to a lesser extent, to teaching. Some Provincial males in particular appear to have entered teacher training college as the only way of continuing with their education, and thus found themselves in the first rung of a teaching career. Teaching, however, was also seen as a suitable occupation, like clerical work, for the unqualified secondary school leaver. Some of the respondents in teaching had partially committed themselves to a career in it by undergoing teacher training, while others, particularly females, in-

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1 Students at the trade centres were paid an allowance of 80c. per day.

tended to do so. Some teachers, however, saw their jobs as merely temporary, while they made preparations for future upward social mobility.

Four main conclusions emerge from this section. Firstly, the jobs sought by respondents on leaving school were of much lower status than their original aspirations, and this is an indication that they were coming to terms with the reality of the occupational structure, and their own position within it. Secondly, this lowering of occupational aspirations was particularly marked among male respondents: they usually had high fantasy aspirations, while those of female respondents were originally more realistic, and thus required less modification when they left school. As a result of the lowering of male aspirations, the jobs sought by males and females on leaving school were much more similar than their original occupational aspirations. Thirdly, inlike the situation in industrialised societies, there was relatively little variation in the jobs sought on leaving school by respondents of differing socio-economic background, though Creoles were slightly more likely to look for clerical work and Provincials slightly more likely to look for teaching or manual employment. The lack of variation may be attributed partly to the narrow range of job opportunities actually available, and partly to the homogenising effect of secondary education. It should be remembered that, though the respondents were drawn from a wide range of socio-economic backgrounds, it is a relatively narrow sample in terms of educational achievement, and it is therefore perhaps not surprising, especially in

view of the tradition of a close fit between educational and occupational levels in African societies, that the range of occupational expectations is fairly narrow. It is significant that most of the respondents with divergent expectations, particularly those with manual expectations, had a different type and level of post-primary education.

Finally, it should be noted that the types of job sought by respondents on leaving school were not the result of their preferences in any absolute sense, but were chosen because they were believed to be the most available and suitable jobs in terms of the respondents' present levels of education. In these choices the respondents showed a realistic perception of the objective situation. This does not necessarily mean, however, that they had abandoned their original aspirations: for many respondents, the jobs sought on leaving school were seen as mere "stop-gaps" or "stepping-stones" while they made plans to upgrade their educational qualifications, and thus move to a higher position in the occupational hierarchy. The extent of such ambitions for future educational and occupational mobility will be examined in the next chapter.

Looking for the first job.

We may now look briefly at the process of obtaining the first job, and particularly at the means employed and the difficulties encountered. How did the respondents go about trying to get their first job? Did they perceive any particular difficulties in gaining employment? How difficult was it in fact

for them to gain employment? And did members of some socio-economic groups encounter more difficulties in obtaining employment than others.

Two problems will be of particular interest. Firstly, it is frequently believed in West Africa that corrupt means are used to obtain desirable employment; and the present section will look at the extent to which respondents had experience of this, or believed it to be true. Secondly, there is usually much unemployment among school leavers in West Africa, though this is mainly associated with primary school leavers. From the present data it was not possible to obtain a total picture of the extent of unemployment among secondary school leavers in Sierra Leone; but an examination of the amount of difficulty respondents had experienced in obtaining employment should give some idea of the magnitude of the problem.

It is unfortunate that some of the data in this section are not complete, and lack depth: this is because these were sensitive areas, and it was sometimes felt unwise to question respondents too closely in case this endangered the interviewer-interviewee relationship in the rest of the interview. It should also be kept in mind that in some cases there may have been a temptation for respondents to give misleading answers, though, on the whole, it was not felt that this problem had a serious effect on the results.

Most respondents appear to have obtained their first jobs by approaching employers directly. Some respondents had visited employing institutions without knowing in advance whether there

were any vacancies, but others had seen posts advertised, or heard about them from relatives or friends. If there were vacancies, they were usually interviewed, and often given a small test before they were employed. From some respondents' replies, it seems that some of these tests were fairly stiff, at least by their standards, for they often mentioned large numbers sitting the tests, but only small numbers being successful. Between one quarter and one third of respondents appear to have attempted to gain employment through the labour exchanges, seven of which exist in Sierra Leone. Though there is a law in Sierra Leone that all vacancies in large firms should be filled through the labour exchanges, they do not seem to have been particularly successful in gaining employment for their applicants, the majority of whom, despite the law, eventually obtained employment independently. Sometimes when respondents were employed by private agreement, their new employers sent them to register at the labour exchange to make the procedure appear to conform with the law; and some firms, when they had no vacancies, also referred applicants to the labour exchange. In the case of the civil service, respondents were employed through the Civil Service Commission.

About one fifth of respondents appear to have been recommended in some way. Although they were not old enough to have much influence themselves, they sometimes had relatives who were able to speak for them. Either such relatives were in important positions within institutions themselves, or knew people

in such positions who could help the respondents to obtain employment. Thus, for example, a Kono clerk at S.L.S.T. was the son of an ex-clerk with the company, who had been promised a job for his son when he retired; while a Mandingo clerk at the same company had been helped in obtaining his job by a cousin who was a graduate plant-engineer with S.L.S.T. A young Creole had his first job teaching at his old school, but he had to transfer to clerical work when his father arranged a job for him in the civil service without even consulting him. Another Creole civil service clerk said that he was helped in obtaining his job by his uncle who talked on his behalf to the Establishment Secretary; while a Temne civil service clerk was recommended by the Secretary of Defence. A Temne who had his first job as a court clerk in a small village in Northern Sierra Leone had been recommended for the job by his cousin who was the central chiefdom clerk. On the other hand, an unemployed Temne at Kenema complained that he had been in line for a job, after successfully completing a test and interview, but that the Resident Minister had managed to put his cousin into it. It should be noted, however, that only a small number of respondents mentioned such cases; and that even these do not always entail nepotism and corruption.[1] Perhaps more common were cases such as those when the Principal of the Trade Centre found his graduates employment at the Brewery, or headmasters found jobs in teaching for their more favoured ex-pupils.

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[1] Of course the interview does not provide the best method of uncovering such cases. A more intensive method would be necessary for that purpose.

As mentioned above, however, corruption is often believed to play an important part in obtaining desirable employment in West Africa; and, in particular, tribalism, personal contacts and bribery are often accused of distorting the fairness of occupational selection. Among respondents in the present survey there appeared to be wide variations in the importance attached to these various forms of corruption, with personal contacts being considered quite important, while much less importance was attached to tribalism. Thus only about one quarter (62/250) of respondents said that they thought tribe was an important factor influencing a person's chances of obtaining a good job, while two thirds (162/250) said that they did not think that it was important.[1] On the other hand, seven tenths (173/250) of respondents thought that personal contacts were important, compared with only about one fifth (47/250) who said that they were not important.[2] As a number of respondents remarked, in getting a job in Sierra Leone it is not <u>what</u> you know but <u>who</u> you know that is important.[3] The relatively small importance attached to tribe may be attributed to the influx of members of all tribes into the more desirable occupations since World War II, as described in the last chapter. In addition,

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1 In addition, 13 respondents said that they did not know or that tribe had a limited effect; while no responses were recorded in 13 cases.

2 In addition, 21 respondents said that they did not know or that personal contacts had a limited effect; while no responses were recorded in 9 cases.

3 Harrell-Bond quotes a Krio proverb, which she translates as follows: "You want something, a job or assistance? You say you have been to grammar school? Well, you show me your educational qualifications and I'll show you my connections" (Harrell-Bond, 1972, p. 120).

at the time the respondents were interviewed, members of all major tribes - Creoles, Mendes, Temnes and Limbas - had held political office; and so all had the opportunity to practise tribalism - and this may have made it more difficult for them to accuse the other tribes of it. The greater importance attached to nepotism may well indicate that it is in fact more important. But it is also possible that, because nepotism is more difficult to detect than tribalism, it may act as a more effective rationalisation in explaining difficulties in obtaining the job one wants.

The assessed importance of bribery in obtaining a good job appears to lie between the assessed importance of nepotism and the assessed importance of tribalism. About one quarter (67/250) of respondents were not asked this question: but in the remaining cases, 57% (105/183) thought bribery was important in obtaining a good job, 41% (75/183) thought that it was not important, and 2% (3/183) were uncertain. Thus a majority of respondents believed that giving a "dash" helped one obtain a good job; but some mentioned that it was more important among illiterates, while for the educated qualifications were more important. Personal knowledge of bribery was claimed by at least 34 respondents, but the number should probably be considerably higher as only about two thirds of respondents were asked directly about this, and some of these may have repressed evidence of personal involvement. The majority of these claimed to have been personally involved (23), although only a few admitted that they had actually given a bribe - they were more lik-

ely to claim that they had failed to obtain a job by not giving a bribe - while the remainder (11) said that friends of theirs had had similar experiences.

Thus, despite the fact that many respondents believed that nepotism and bribery in particular were widespread, few actual or definite cases were uncovered. It may be that such corruption, though undoubtedly existing, is not as rampant as the "conventional wisdom" suggests; and, in particular, it may be that many people use such factors as a rationalisation of their own difficulties in obtaining employment, or for various other political purposes. It must be admitted, however, that the short, structured, and rather superficial interview is not a suitable instrument with which to investigate such problems, which really require investigation in greater depth.[1]

Let us now turn to the problem of unemployment among school leavers, and attempt to assess how difficult it was for respondents to find their first jobs. Of particular interest here will be the extent to which such difficulties varied between respondents of different socio-economic groups. Three measures of the ease or difficulty of finding employment will be examined: firstly, the proportion of respondents who had not been able to obtain any employment up to the time they were interviewed; secondly, the length of time the others had been unemployed before obtaining their first job; and thirdly, the number of jobs applied for before this first job was obtained. These will be examined in turn, beginning with the first.

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[1] No significant differences were found in these figures between Creoles and Provincials.

Looking first at the proportion of respondents who had never been employed, it appears that 31 out of the 250 (or 12%) had never held any job. Of course the proportion of respondents in the sample who had never been employed is not in itself a very good index of the proportion of secondary school leavers who experience difficulties in obtaining employment, for it was largely determined by the sampling procedures - i.e. the number of respondents who were interviewed at labour exchanges. An examination of the characteristics of these respondents can be useful in two main respects, however; firstly, it can throw light on the question of whether some groups have more difficulties than others in obtaining employment; and secondly, an assessment of the amount of difficulty experienced by such respondents will elucidate the extent of the problem.

Examination of the characteristics of respondents who had never been employed does show that they were mainly from lower socio-economic groups. Out of the 31 never employed respondents, only five were Creoles, and three of these were females: thus among unemployed male respondents, 93% (26/28) were Provincials, though Provincials made up only 70% (142/202) of all males in the sample. Similarly it appears that male respondents born in the Provinces had a poorer chance of gaining employment than those born in the Western Area, 18% (24/130) of the former being among the never employed males, compared with only 6% (4/70) of the latter; and also males with illiterate fathers had a poorer chance than those with educated fathers, 20% (22/110) of those with illiterate fathers having never been

employed, compared with 9% (3/33) of those with primary educated fathers, and only 5% (3/59) of those whose fathers had post-primary education. Thus the evidence does seem to indicate that those from lower status homes do have greater difficulty in obtaining employment than those from more privileged homes.

The position among female respondents seemed rather different, for all three never employed females were Creoles, had been born in the Western Area, and had educated fathers. This is not particularly significant, however, for the numbers are very small, and the majority of females in the sample were Creoles. Paradoxically it may again illustrate the privileged position of Creoles, for so few Provincial females are qualified for employment in the modern sector of the economy that they are not even represented at the labour exchanges.[1]

Closer examination of the evidence, however, does not suggest that the never employed school leavers in the sample were facing a serious unemployment situation. For one thing, most of them appeared to be very young, almost half (15/31) being under the age of 20 years, and almost nine tenths (27/31) being under the age of 22 years, compared with equivalent figures for other respondents of 7% (16/219) and 34% (74/219). In addition, the majority (22/31) had left school within the previous six months. Almost one quarter (7/31), however, had been unemployed for over one year, and, although it is quite possible that some of themhad not been seriously looking for jobs during

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[1] Those Provincial females who are qualified for modern occupations tend to become teachers rather than clerical workers; and teaching is not entered through the labour exchange.

the whole of this period, they may represent the nucleus of a growing unemployment problem among secondary school leavers in Sierra Leone.[1] It is perhaps significant that five of the never employed respondents who had been out of work for more than one year were Provincial males, and the remaining two were Creole females. The impression gained from the above evidence, then, it that unemployment is not yet a serious problem among secondary school leavers in Sierra Leone, though there does seem to be a relatively small group who had been unemployed for a longer period of time, and whose position requires further study.

Evidence on respondents who did gain employment also suggests that unemployment is not a serious problem among secondary school leavers. For example, it can be seen from Table 3.6 that over one third of them were able to obtain employment within three months of leaving school, and that two thirds obtained employment within six months. Only 7% of employed respondents had failed to find their first job within one year of leaving school. And it should be remembered that some of the respondents had not been seriously seeking employment on first leaving school, for they still had hopes of returning to full-time education. These figures do not show any significant or consistent variation between Creoles and Provincials, suggesting that actually gaining employment may not constitute a significant barrier to social mobility for those of lower status backgrounds.

Examination of the evidence on the number of jobs applied

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[1] Only two respondents, both females, had been unemployed for more than two years; and none had been unemployed for more than three.

TABLE 3.6: Time taken to find first job by tribe.

Time	Creoles		Provincials		Total	
Under 3 months	32	(34%)	50	(40%)	82	(37%)
3 - 6 months	34	(36%)	34	(27%)	68	(31%)
6 - 12 months	20	(21%)	21	(17%)	41	(19%)
Over 12 months	5	(5%)	10	(8%)	15	(7%)
Don't know	4	(4%)	9	(7%)	13	(6%)
Never employed	(5)		(26)		(31)	
Total	95	(100%)	124	(99%)	219	(100%)

for before being successful also suggests that most respondents encountered no great problems in obtaining employment. Although a few respondents talked of writing applications for 15 or 20 jobs, the majority seemed to have obtained employment relatively easily. Thus it appears that of the respondents who had obtained employment, about two fifths (92/219) had obtained the first job they applied for, one quarter (52/219) had obtained the second, while only another quarter (55/219) had had to apply for three or more jobs before being successful.[1] There again appears to be little variation in this between Creoles and Provincials. This would then seem to support the evidence on the length of time taken to find a job, and hence the conclusions that respondents were able to obtain jobs without too much difficulty, and

[1] The number of jobs applied for was unknown in the remaining 9% (20/219) of cases. It should be noted, however, that these figures may not be too reliable, as respondents were not closely questioned on the number of jobs that they had applied for.

that there was little variation in this between respondents of differing socio-economic backgrounds.

In addition, the present data again suggest that the plight of the never employed may not be too desperate, for comparison of the time employed respondents took to find their first jobs, and the number of jobs they applied for in the process, with similar figures for the never employed do not suggest that many of the latter had put more effort into finding a job than had the former. It would then seem that most of the never employed still had a good chance of obtaining employment.

A final point of encouragement may be made here, namely that respondents who left school in the lower forms did not appear to encounter more difficulty in obtaining employment than those who went further. Indeed, there appears to be a slight tendency in the opposite direction, for half (16/32) of the respondents who left school before Form IV had found employment within three months, compared with only one third (72/218) of those who left in Form IV or after; and three quarters (24/32) of the former obtained employment within six months, compared with seven tenths (151/218) of the latter. Of course it must be remembered that all respondents who left secondary school before Form IV had some form of further education, they would not have been included in the sample otherwise, and this must have considerably improved their employment chances. Respondents leaving school between Forms I and III who did not proceed to further education would probably find it much more difficult to find employment.

The two main conclusions of this section then are as follows. Firstly, most respondents did not seem to encounter too much difficulty in gaining employment, as indicated by the relatively short time most of them spent in looking for their first jobs, and the relatively small number of jobs they needed to apply for in the process. Even among those who had never been employed, the majority had been seeking work for a relatively short period of time, and appeared to have quite good chances of finding something suitable.

These conclusions, however, should not leave the reader with the impression that there is no problem of unemployment among secondary school leavers in Sierra Leone - it is only being suggested that the problem is not apparent in the present sample. The present research was not designed as a study of unemployment among school leavers, and throws little light on the extent of the problem. There are a number of reasons for believing that the problem is probably more serious than is suggested by the present data. In the first place, the majority of respondents had reached Form V, or had some form of further education, while the more acute problem of unemployment is likely to lie among those who leave primary schools, or the lower forms of secondary school. Secondly, because of the sampling choices, the majority of respondents were in employment, and so obviously were the lucky ones who had not encountered a serious unemployment problem. Only a small number of "hardcore" unemployed were located at the labour exchanges, but it seems possible that they are only the tip of an iceberg of

hardcore unemployed who did not even bother going to the labour exchanges. No attempt was made in the present research to locate such individuals. Thirdly, the majority of respondents, at least according to themselves, were above average academically while at school, and therefore may have had some advantage in gaining employment over the less academically successful students. A study which wished to assess the extent of unemployment in a given category of school leavers should attempt to obtain a complete random sample of all students leaving school in a particular period, using some follow up method similar to that attempted by Clignet and Foster (Clignet and Foster, 1966, ch. 8). Finally, although it is not possible to make a definite prediction, it seems likely that the problem of unemployment among secondary school leavers will become more serious in the future, even among the types of respondents interviewed in this survey. If the output of secondary schools increases without a corresponding increase in the number of suitable jobs, there must be a "devaluation" of education in terms of the kind of jobs it will "buy", and finally a rise in the level of unemployment among school leavers.

The second conclusion concerns the variations in the opportunities for employment available to members of different socio-economic groups. The evidence on this is rather inconclusive, however, for while it appears that Provincials were more likely than Creoles to be among the never employed, and particularly among the long-term never employed, there was no significant difference between employed Creoles and Provincials

in the time they took to obtain their first jobs, or in the number of jobs they applied for in the process. My overall conclusion would be that there is little difference between Creoles and Provincials, not only because of the latter evidence, but also because the majority of the unemployed in the sample appeared to be only temporarily out of work. It may be, however, that the difference between Creoles and Provincials lies not so much in their chances of obtaining employment, but rather in the kind of employment that they are able to obtain. In other words, it may be that the disability suffered by Provincial respondents in obtaining employment is mainly in that they must accept the less desirable jobs, such as those in manual work and teaching. This proposition will be examined in the next section.

The first job.

In this section the main characteristics of the first jobs held by respondents will be examined. Of particular interest here will be four main questions. Firstly, what were these first jobs held by respondents? Secondly, how did these jobs compare with their occupational ambitions? Did most respondents get the sort of jobs that they wanted, or were they forced into other kinds of jobs? Thirdly, were there important differences between the sexes in the types of job they were able to obtain? It has already been shown that there were considerable differences between the sexes in their occupational aspirations, and some differences between them in the kinds of job they sought on leaving school. Are these differences reflected in the types of job they

actually obtained? Finally, to what extent did the socio-economic background of respondents influence the types of job they obtained. In particular, was there any evidence that respondents from higher socio-economic backgrounds were at an advantage in obtaining the more desirable occupations, thus curtailing opportunities for social mobility for those from less privileged backgrounds?

Also of interest will be the success with which respondents were adjusting to their new occupational positions. How did they feel about their first jobs? How many of them left their first jobs, and after how long? And what were their reasons for leaving their first jobs? Answers to these questions will help in understanding the process of occupational adjustment; and they will be sought in this and the following section.

Information on the types of job first obtained is presented in Tables 3.7 and 3.8, broken down by sex and tribe. From these tables it can be seen that the largest proportion of respondents obtained clerical jobs, this being so for 46% of the males who had ever been employed and 44% of the females. The majority of these became general clerical workers of various kinds, including accounts clerks, storekeepers, cardex clerks, etc.; but others obtained more specialised work, for example as library assistants (7) and secretaries and typists (8). The majority of library assistants were males (5) and of secretaries and typists were females (7). Sales workers made up 3% of the males and 9% of the females, while another two males were draftsmen and three were laboratory technicians. Taken together these white

TABLE 3.7: First job by tribe (males only).

First job	Creoles		Provincials		Total	
Teaching	10	(17%)	32	(28%)	42	(24%)
Nursing	0	(-)	3	(3%)	3	(2%)
Clerical	36	(62%)	44	(38%)	80	(46%)
Sales	2	(3%)	4	(3%)	6	(3%)
Laboratory assist-ants, draftsmen	2	(3%)	3	(3%)	5	(3%)
Other technical	4	(7%)	0	(-)	4	(2%)
Manual	2	(3%)	21	(18%)	23	(13%)
Driving	0	(-)	7	(6%)	7	(4%)
Other	2	(3%)	2	(2%)	4	(2%)
None	(2)		(26)		(28)	
Total	58	(98%)	116	(101%)	174	(99%)

TABLE 3.8: First job by tribe (females only).

First job	Creoles		Provincials		Total	
Teaching	13	(35%)	4	(50%)	17	(38%)
Nursing	2	(5%)	1	(13%)	3	(7%)
Clerical	18	(49%)	2	(25%)	20	(44%)
Sales	3	(8%)	1	(13%)	4	(9%)
Other	1	(3%)	0	(-)	1	(2%)
None	(3)		(0)		(3)	
Total	37	(100%)	8	(101%)	45	(100%)

collar categories account for well over half of the first jobs obtained among both males and females, which is consistent with their predominance among jobs sought on leaving school They appear to be of roughly equivalent importance among both males and females.

Teaching was also important, particularly among females: almost a quarter of employed males became teachers, compared with almost two fifths of females. This means that over nine tenths of females went into either teaching or other white collar employment. Three of the four remaining employed females in the sample had started their careers in nursing, and the last one had worked for four years on her mother's vegetable farm outside Freetown. Of employed male respondents, about a fifth went into various kinds of manual employment, mainly of a semi-skilled nature. The majority were semi-skilled operators, usually at the Brewery (12), mechanics (8), and drivers of heavy equipment at S.L.S.T. (7); but there were also two electricians and an upholsterer. Four other technical workers - two printers, an office machine technician and a trainee diamond polisher - have been grouped separately for the purposes of this classification.

It may also be noted that the vast majority of the respondents gained their first employment within the framework of one of the large national bureaucracies. Thus of the respondents who had ever been employed, about a quarter had first been employed by the government, or one of its arms, such as the Post Office or the Bank of Sierra Leone, two fifths had first been employed by a foreign-owned commercial, industrial, or mining firm, and

three tenths had first been employed in one of the minor professions, such as teaching or nursing. Of course this bias towards bureaucratic employment results partly from the sampling procedures, but it is also a real reflection of the importance of such employment for secondary school leavers in West African societies. Only nine respondents had their first employment in non-bureaucratic settings: two had had casual employment as petrol pump attendants; one had worked as a clerk for a contractor who was a friend of his aunt; one had worked as a temporary clerk on a rubber plantation in Liberia while visiting his uncle; one had worked as a clerk and general assistant in a cinema; one had worked as an upholsterer for a Ghanaian friend; one had worked in a small fitting shop; one had worked as a waiter in a hotel; and one had worked on her mother's vegetable farm. A few others may have also had various jobs between school and permanent employment which they did not consider worth mentioning to the interviewer. For example, a Mende said that he spent two years helping his father, a farmer and chiefdom speaker in a diamond area, before gaining employment as a teacher; and a number of other respondents in the diamond areas seemed to have tried their luck at illegal mining. On the whole, however, such jobs appear to have been of short duration, and to have been regarded by respondents as temporary and unsatisfactory. They believed that their occupational futures lay in bureaucratic employment; and most of them subsequently obtained such employment.

Turning now to the extent of variation in occupational attainment in terms of differing socio-economic background, it does appear that there was some social selectivity in jobs obtained, with respondents of higher status backgrounds being more likely to obtain clerical and technical jobs, and respondents from lower status backgrounds being more likely to obtain jobs as manual workers and teachers. In particular, of male Creole respondents who had ever been employed, 68% had gained their first employment in the three white collar categories, compared with only 44% of male Provincials, while only 3% of male Creoles had their first employment as manual workers or drivers, compared with 24% of Provincial males.[1] In contrast with manual workers in general, the two printers, the business-machine technician and the diamond polisher were all Creoles. A rather similar picture of selectivity would be obtained by analysing first jobs in terms of Province of birth, or father's level of education, with respondents of higher status backgrounds having a slightly better chance of obtaining the more desirable occupations. Examination of the distribution of first jobs obtained by females also shows that Creoles were more likely to obtain clerical jobs, while Provincials were more likely to be teachers, suggesting a similar pattern of selectivity; but the number of females, especially Provincial females, is too small to allow reliable conclusions to be drawn. On the whole, however, it is possible to conclude that a measure of social selectivity exists in the distribution of occupations among respondents.

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[1] It should be noted, however, that Provincial males formed the majority of white collar workers in terms of absolute numbers.

To what extent do the first jobs obtained by respondents coincide with the jobs they were looking for on leaving school? Comparison of the results on first jobs (as shown in Tables 3.7 and 3.8) with those on occupations sought (as shown in Tables 3.4 and 3.5) indicates considerable congruence. In both cases, for example, over half of the occupations concerned were white collar; and the greater importance of teaching among females and manual occupations among males is also found in both sets of tables. That people usually get the kind of jobs that they were looking for can also be seen in Table 3.9, which is a cross-tabulation of jobs sought by jobs actually obtained. Of course part of this high correlation results from technical rather than substantive reasons. Respondents would of course be more likely to get jobs they were looking for rather than jobs they were not looking for; and some respondents, in answering the question on jobs sought, may have tended to project backwards from the jobs they actually obtained to the kind of job they claimed they were seeking. However, the fact that most respondents were able to gain employment in the categories in which they claimed to be seeking employment suggests two further conclusions. In the first place, it again suggests that the respondents were reasonably realistic in the jobs they expected. Secondly, it suggests that, at least in the short-run, they should have been reasonably satisfied with the types of job they were able to obtain.

How satisfied were respondents in fact with their new jobs? In answer to a question on how they felt on obtaining

TABLE 3.9: First occupation by occupations sought on leaving school.

First occupation	Occupations sought on leaving school							
	Teaching	Clerical	Nursing	Technical	Manual	Other	None	Total
Teaching	46	17	2	1	3	1	2	59
Clerical	7	92	2	10	6	3	12	110
Manual[1]	3	9	1	3	25	2	4	34
Other[2]	1	1	6	3	4	1	3	16
Unemployed	0	30	1	1	1	1	2	31
Total[3]	57	149	12	18	39	8	23	250

1 This category contains respondents included in the following categories in Table 3.7: manual, driving, and other technical.

2 This category contains respondents included in the following categories in Tables 3.7 and 3.8: nursing, laboratory assistants and draftsmen, and others.

3 Multiple responses were allowed, and so these totals add up to more than 250.

TABLE 3.10: First job by initial level of satisfaction.

First job	Initial level of satisfaction: Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Mixed	Don't know	Total
Teachers	43 (73%)	10 (17%)	4 (7%)	2 (3%)	59 (100%)
Clerical and sales	73 (66%)	24 (22%)	9 (8%)	4 (4%)	110 (100%)
Manual[1]	17 (50%)	9 (26%)	7 (21%)	1 (3%)	34 (100%)
Other[2]	12 (75%)	1 (6%)	1 (6%)	2 (13%)	16 (100%)
Total	145 (66%)	44 (20%)	21 (10%)	9 (4%)	219 (100%)

[1] This category contains respondents contained in the following categories in Table 3.7: manual, driving, and other technical.

[2] This category contains respondents contained in the following categories in Tables 3.7 and 3.8: nursing, laboratory assistants and draftsmen, and others.

Probability: with the "dissatisfied" and "mixed" columns combined, and "don't know" values excluded:-

$X^2 = 7.63$; d.f. = 3; $0.10 > p. > 0.05$

their first jobs, two thirds of respondents described themselves as satisfied or very satisfied, one fifth as dissatisfied, and one tenth said that they had mixed feelings. This suggests that respondents had mostly made a satisfactory adjustment to their occupational situations, especially considering the high level of their aspirations while at school. Although their first jobs did not measure up to their original aspirations, most respond-

ents had lowered these to a realistic level of expectations on leaving school; and they were reasonably pleased to have any type of job which would provide them with money to cover their living expenses, pay for further education, and help their families. They had a basically instrumental orientation to such employment; but one of their most common complaints was that their rates of pay were too low to meet their expenses.

As can be seen from Table 3.10, the highest proportion of satisfied respondents was found among teachers and "other" workers, three quarters of whom described themselves as satisfied, and lowest among manual workers, only half of whom said that they were satisfied. White collar workers occupied an intermediate position, with two thirds of them saying that they were pleased with their first jobs, but also as many as one fifth saying that they were dissatisfied. As well as a quarter of manual workers being dissatisfied with their first jobs, many also appeared to be ambivalent. They were pleased to have jobs, and even pleased to have manual jobs, but they were not happy with certain aspects of these jobs. A more detailed examination of the causes of occupational satisfaction and dissatisfaction, however, will have to be postponed to a later section of this chapter.

As type of occupation is correlated with sex and tribe, so the level of satisfaction with the first job also varies according to these factors. Thus, of male respondents who had been employed, only 63% said that they were satisfied with their first job, compared with 80% of female respondents. A consist-

ently higher proportion of females in each of the occupational categories expressed themselves satisfied with their first jobs, and this will have raised the proportion of satisfied respondents in the categories in which they were particularly prominent, such as teaching and nursing. Female ambitions were generally lower than male ambitions, and were therefore more easily satisfied. In teaching and nursing, not only was there a high proportion of females, but females in these occupations seemed to be particularly satisfied, thus having a double effect in raising the general level of satisfaction in these occupations. When the effects of female respondents on levels of occupational satisfaction are removed by looking at male respondents alone, the variations between teachers, clerical workers and "others" are also largely removed, for 67%, 64% and 67% respectively said that they were satisfied with their first jobs. Thus it appears that the variations between these occupations in the total figures were caused entirely by the female component - by the generally higher level of satisfaction among females, probably because of their lower levels of aspirations and expectations; by the higher proportions of these females in some occupational categories than in others; and by the slightly higher proportion of satisfied female respondents in teaching compared with other occupations. About two thirds of male respondents in teaching, clerical work and other occupations said that they were satisfied to get their first jobs; but of those whose first occupations were manual, only half said that they were satisfied.

The proportion of satisfied respondents also varies accord-

TABLE 3.11: Tribe by initial satisfaction with first job.

	Initial level of satisfaction				
Tribe	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Mixed	Don't know	Total
Creoles	69 (73%)	14 (15%)	8 (8%)	4 (4%)	95 (100%)
Provincials	76 (61%)	30 (24%)	13 (11%)	5 (4%)	124 (100%)
Total	145 (66%)	44 (20%)	21 (10%)	9 (4%)	219 (100%)

Probability: with the "don't know" values excluded:-
d.f. = 2; X^2 = 3.5; $0.20 > p. > 0.10$.

ing to tribe, as can be seen from Table 3.11. Thus 73% of employed Creole respondents said that they were satisfied with their first job, 15% said that they were dissatisfied, while 8% said that they had mixed feelings, compared with equivalent figures of 61%, 24% and 11% for Provincials. However, satisfaction with the first job appears to predominate in both groups, and the variations between them are not statistically significant. Such variations as do exist are probably the side-effects of other factors. They may partly result from the higher proportion of satisfied females among the Creoles, although even among males alone, 69% of Creoles were satisfied, compared with only 59% of Provincials. They may also result from the variations in the distributions of tribes between the various occupational categories; and, in particular, the fact that a higher proportion of Provincials than Creoles is in the least satisfied manual category.

These variations between Provincials and Creoles in their levels of satisfaction with their first jobs, slight though they are, are also a reflection of the slightly greater difficulty experienced by Provincials compared with Creoles in obtaining the most desirable and satisfying occupational positions. It does appear that there is a measure of inequality in the distribution of occupational opportunities between respondents of differing socio-economic backgrounds, but the extent of overlap between them is probably more significant than the variations.

Career histories.

We may now turn to the development of the respondents' later careers: how many of them had left their first jobs; what were their reasons for changing jobs; how many jobs had they had altogether; and in what combinations? The respondents had left school for up to 12 years - 18% for under one year, 36% for between one and three years, 33% for from four to six years, and 14% for over six years - and it is interesting to know how they developed their careers in this period since leaving school. In particular, does the evidence on length of time spent in jobs, the number of changes in jobs, the reasons for these changes, or their type and direction tell us anything about the level of occupational satisfaction among the respondents? Do the changes of occupation show any consistent direction suggesting attempts by the respondents to increase their levels of occupational satisfaction and adjustment? Do they, for example, suggest that such occupational changes move res-

pondents any closer to their original occupational ambitions? In other words, can the evidence on career histories tell us anything about the level of occupational satisfaction among the respondents, or the nature of the process of their adjustment to the occupational sphere?

It might be possible to gauge the extent of occupational satisfaction by the time spent in jobs, the rate of labour turnover, and the reasons for leaving. It appears that for various reasons, most of the respondents in the present survey had spent only a short time in their first jobs. Thus, of all the respondents who had ever been employed, almost half (107/219) had spent a year or under in their first job, a third (76/219) had spent between one and three years, and only 15% (33/219) had spent over three years in their first job.[1] There did not seem to be much variation in this between respondents in differing kinds of employment, except a slight tendency for manual workers to have been less likely to have been employed for over a year. This was because most of the drivers at S.L.S.T. had been employed within the previous year after the management introduced a policy of employing secondary school leavers to operate heavy equipment. There did not appear to be any other important variations in the length of time spent in the first job, although there were slight tendencies for Creoles, females, and those interviewed in the Western Area to have spent a longer period of time in their first jobs.

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[1] The proportion in their first job for a year or under may have been slightly over-estimated. Exact dates of employment were not collected, and so anyone who said that he had worked in his first job for about a year would have been counted in the one year or less category, though some may have worked for slightly more than a year.

The reasons for the relatively short time spent by most respondents in their first jobs are not hard to find. Firstly, this results partly from the nature of the sample. As all respondents had to be under a certain age, the time they could have spent in their first job was limited; and many of those still in their first job had been employed in it for under a year. Also it results from a relatively high rate of turn-over in a relatively short period of time. As already indicated, 219 of the respondents had been employed at some time since leaving school; and of these, 137 were still in their first job at the time they were interviewed. This means that 82 respondents (33% of the total, or 37% of those who had ever held a job) had for various reasons left their first job. This may not at first sight seem a high rate of turn-over in absolute terms, but when it is remembered that most respondents had only recently left school, it is actually quite high. It certainly contributes to the high proportion of respondents who had been employed in their first job for under a year, for 63% (52/82) of those who had left their first job had been employed in it for a year or under, while only 40% (55/137) of those who were still in their first job had been employed in it for under a year. The relatively high rate of turn-over in early employment may be interpreted as part of a natural process of adjustment to the employment situation, with respondents moving from jobs which were temporary, which did not satisfy them, or at which their employers did not consider their performance adequate. Many of the respondents who stayed longer in their first jobs may have made

a more satisfactory adjustment to their occupational situation; but, on the other hand, they may have remained in their first job not because they particularly liked it, but only because they could see no better alternative.

The reasons given by respondents for leaving their first jobs were quite varied. Of the 82 respondents who left their first job, about a quarter neither resigned nor were sacked, 13% having been in temporary occupations, and 10% having been transferred from one job to another within the same organization. Most of those who had been in temporary employment were white collar workers, often in such unstable government departments as the Census Office, or the Electoral Commission, or taking part in advertising campaigns for commercial or industrial concerns. Particularly teachers, but also white collar and manual workers were subject to transfer, either at the request of management or themselves. Teachers were mainly subject to transfer from one school to another; while white collar and manual workers were subject to either geographical transfer, as in the case of a library assistant who was moved from Freetown to Bo, or transfer from one type of job to another, as in the case of a bulldozer driver at S.L.S.T. who became a work study clerk with the same company, or an office-machine technician with U.A.C. who became a salesman for similar machines, also in the same company.

It is also interesting to note that efforts to avoid geographical transfer, particularly from the Western Area to the Provinces, sometimes led to respondents leaving their jobs. Thus a female clerk with the Ministry of Education was trans-

ferred from Freetown to Magburaka in the Northern Province, and as a result she resigned after five months because she wanted to return to Freetown; and a Mende who had been teaching in the North for a number of years returned to his native Eastern Province because he did not like staying in a "strange land". A Mende who had been a field registrar for the Electoral Commission attached to their Freetown office was sacked when he refused to go to the Provinces. In fact he did not like the job, and was studying for his R.S.A. examinations in accounts. He felt that the transfer would interfere with his studies which were centred in Freetown; and in fact he was soon able to obtain a more satisfactory job as an accounts clerk with the Brewery. A Creole teacher whose first job had been at the village of Regent outside Freetown obtained a transfer to a city school because this involved less travel to work each day. A few respondents also claimed to have left their first jobs because of tribalism and political victimisation. A Mandingo born in the Southern Province, for example, had left his teaching job in Magburaka after one year because of "political victimisation"; while a Fula who had been teaching in the North for six months claimed that he had been forced to leave because of his affiliation to the A.P.C.

About 13% of respondents who had left their first jobs admitted that they had either been sacked or made redundant, though the figure should perhaps be higher for some respondents may have concealed the fact that this was the real reason that they left their first job. A few respondents had worked for

the Sierra Leone Produce Marketing Board, and became redundant when the activities of this organization were curtailed after the fall of the S.L.P.P. government. An upholsterer was dismissed because of a decline in business; while a diamond polisher was sacked when he was in dispute with management over a strike and the spoiling of some stones. An unemployed Creole who had worked for two years with an insurance firm was dismissed for riding in the manager's car. He had already been "disquieted with management" for they would talk to him as if a servant - he found it worse than being at school. A Susu machine operator was dismissed from his first job after some confusion over overtime working, which resulted in him failing to turn up at work when the management were expecting him.

About 30% of respondents left their first jobs because of dissatisfaction with them. Dissatisfaction with the level of pay appeared to be the most common complaint; and this often provoked a movement out of government employment in a search for higher pay. Thus a Creole laboratory assistant who had worked first for the Public Works Department moved to the Brewery, and a female clerk left the Department of Justice, both because they felt government pay scales were too low. Other causes of dissatisfaction were also mentioned as reasons for leaving first jobs. A female Creole typist left a commercial firm because she found the irregular hours interferred with her evening classes; a Mende trainee male nurse left after only two weeks because he was "discouraged" by a doctor who told him to scrub the floor; while an unemployed Mende had left a job as a stew-

ard at one of the main hotels in Freetown after only two days, describing it as "a scrap job" with illiterates, which was not at all suitable for a literate person like himself. The last two respondents, both Form V leavers, appeared to have been shocked by being asked to do jobs which they considered to be beneath their dignity.

Many of the changes appeared to be part of a natural process of adjustment on first entering the labour market, with respondents moving away from jobs which did not suit them, or towards jobs which they thought they would like better. Sometimes respondents were quite happy with their jobs, but the emergence of new opportunities led them to make a change. For example,-a Creole who had been teaching business subjects while waiting to resit his "G.C.E." saw an advertisement during the vacations for a laboratory assistant at the Brewery, and decided to apply for it as it was better paid that teaching, and the practical work would help him with his science studies. A Creole obtained a job teaching at his former school without telling his father. The latter, in his ignorance, arranged a job for his son in the civil service, and so the son transferred to clerical work after two months as a teacher. A Temne auto-electrician had been trained at the iron ore mine in the Northern Province, and was quite happy there; but a friend told him that a good auto-electrician should know about many different kinds of machines. So he resigned, and took a job with the Sierra Leone Produce Marketing Board, where there were other types of machine. When this curtailed its activities, he became redund-

ant, and so moved on to S.L.S.T. Other respondents moved just because they preferred other types of work, as in the case of a clerk who left his job because he wanted to become a mechanic. These are all the kinds of changes which could be expected in the early period of a person's career, as he attempts to fit himself into a suitable and satisfying occupational role.

An aspect of occupational adjustment is also involved in attempts by respondents to improve their educational opportunities; and 13% of those who left their first jobs said that they did so for educational reasons. They felt that as they were still at the beginnings of their careers, they had the chance of improving their positions through education. This was particularly true of teachers, a number of whom left their first jobs to enter training college, and thus gain further qualifications; and also of a few white collar workers, some of whom entered training college, and others of whom left clerical work directly for teaching in the hope that the latter would give them more educational opportunities. Also, as will be seen later, many respondents had more or less vague plans to leave the jobs they had at the time they were interviewed, and to attempt to further their education at a university, training college, or other institution of higher education.

Some people had left remote areas because they felt that they would have more chance of improving their education in a large town, and particularly in Freetown. This was true of a Kono who taught for four years in his home district before coming to Freetown. He left Kono partly because he found the cost

of living too high there, but also because he thought that he would have better opportunities for furthering his education in Freetown. A few respondents left their first occupations for health reasons, as in the case of a printer whose doctor warned him to give up the job because it involved too much standing up; and a girl who left nursing because she was pregnant.

We may now move on to look at the later jobs obtained by respondents. Of all the respondents who had ever been employed (219), two thirds (145) had had only one job, one quarter (55) had had two jobs, 7% (16) had had three jobs, and only 1% (3) had had four or more jobs. The average number of jobs held by all respondents was 1.26, and by respondents who had ever been employed was 1.44. Although as previously shown Provincials and hence males were more likely to be among the never employed respondents than Creoles and females, among those respondents who had been employed there appeared to be no variation by either tribe or sex in the number of jobs held.

Of particular interest here are the kind of moves made by respondents. Did they usually move to jobs of the same kind or did they move to jobs of other kinds? Peil, in her study of industrial workers in Ghana, found that many of her respondents had held jobs of different kinds at various times (Peil, 1972, pp. 49-59). Does the evidence from the present survey indicate that this is also true among secondary school leavers in Sierra Leone? And does any consistent pattern of job changing emerge which can throw light on the respondents' occupational preferences, or the nature of their adjustment in the occupational sphere?

If occupations are classified into four categories - teaching, white collar, manual, and other - it appears that of the 74 respondents who had held more than one job, 61% (45) had only held other jobs in the same category as their first one, 3% (2) had held other jobs in both the same category and another category, and 36% (27) had only held later jobs in categories different from their first jobs.[1] The overall impression, then, is that, although quite a few of those who changed jobs had moved into other categories of work, only a small proportion of the total sample had held jobs in a number of categories. Of all the respondents who had ever been employed, 87% had only held jobs in a single category, and 13% had held jobs in more than one category. Only two respondents (1%) had held jobs in more than two categories. A Temne male had taught for two terms in the Northern Province and then been a cadet in the army for one year before becoming a clerk with U.A.C. And a Creole female had worked for five years on her mother's vegetable farm and then for a few months as a salesgirl in Kingsway before becoming a teacher in her home village near Freetown. The predominant picture, however, is of relatively little occupational mobility, either vertically or horizontally; and hence the present data do not appear to confirm Peil's results. The composition of the sample, however, must be taken into the account; and particularly the relative youth and high level of education of its members.

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[1] 25 of the respondents had had later employment in one other category, and two had had later employment in two other categories.

Also of interest are the nature and direction of the changes which do take place, information on which is provided in Table 3.12. One fact which is immediately apparent from this table is that whereas the majority of respondents were still in their first jobs, this was not true of those whose first job was in the residual category - only 31% of them were still in their first job, compared with 69% of other respondents. This was particularly because nurses were included in this category, and five out of the six respondents who were originally nurses had left the profession, two because they were pregnant, one for "domestic reasons", one because he wished to improve his education, and one because he was asked to scrub the floor. Four of these five then entered clerical work, while the last became a teacher. Others in this category who became white collar workers included an office-machine technician who became a salesman, a quality control examiner who became a clerk, and a farm assistant who became a salesgirl.

Teachers appeared to be slightly less likely than clerical or manual workers to be still in their first job, but those teachers who had changed jobs were most likely to have moved to another teaching position. As mentioned above, teachers were particularly likely to have left their first job as a result of having been transferred to another school, or to attend training college before returning to teach. The majority of clerical workers who changed jobs also remained within the clerical field. It may be noted, however, that there is a small and balanced transfer of personnel between teaching and clerical work, 5% of

TABLE 3.12: First occupation by subsequent occupations (respondents who had been employed only).

First occupation	One job only	Subsequent occupations: Teaching	Clerical	Manual	Other	Total
Teaching	37 (63%)	17 (29%)	3 (5%)	0 (-)	3 (5%)	59
Clerical and sales	78 (71%)	8 (7%)	23 (21%)	2 (2%)	0 (-)	110
Manual[1]	25 (74%)	0 (-)	6 (18%)	3 (9%)	0 (-)	34
Other[2]	5 (31%)	2 (13%)	6 (38%)	1 (6%)	4 (25%)	16
Total	145 (66%)	27 (12%)	38 (17%)	6 (3%)	7 (3%)	219

[1] This category contains respondents included in the following categories in Table 3.7: manual, driving and other technical.

[2] This category contains respondents included in the following categories in Tables 3.7 and 3.8: nursing, laboratory assistants and draftsmen, and others.

respondents who started work as teachers becoming clerical workers, and 7% who started as white collar workers becoming teachers. Those who left clerical work to become teachers were particularly likely to mention that they hoped thereby to improve their education, some by entering training college, and others by private study. It seemed that they felt themselves to be in a rut, with no prospect for advancement, and thought that teaching offered better opportunities for improving themselves. One, who had been an income tax clerk, said that his salary had been too small for him to be able to help his family, and that they would blame him for this. So he decided to further his education to get more money. In fact he entered Milton Margai Training College where he obtained the Advanced Teacher's Certificate, and was thus able to increase his salary to Le850 per year. He was still hoping to go to university, and thus improve his position still further. Other respondents had only had temporary clerical jobs, or had left because of various kinds of dissatisfaction. The teachers who became clerical workers had generally held only temporary teaching jobs on leaving school, had no teaching qualifications, and thus lacked commitment to the teaching profession. They preferred clerical work because in the short-run it was better paid than teaching, though in the long-run the trained teacher can reach a much higher level of salary than the clerk. This, however, requires considerable training, and hence a high degree of commitment to the profession, which was absent among most of the respondents.

In contrast to the findings of Peil among Ghanaian fac-

tory workers, there appeared to be relatively little movement across the dividing line between manual and non-manual occupations, only 4% (8/219) of respondents who had ever been employed having held both manual and non-manual occupations. This is again partly a result of the nature of the sample, for it includes only young people, who thus had relatively little chance of obtaining different types of employment, and it is divided between Form V leavers, who would be unlikely to enter manual employment, and respondents with lower educational qualifications, but various kinds of vocational training which would channel them towards manual employment. It may be particularly noted that there is not much overlap between manual employment and teaching.

The movement that does exist is mainly from manual to non-manual occupations rather than vice versa. Neither of the respondents who moved in the latter direction seemed to have had any commitment to white collar occupations. One of them, a Mende, had originally hoped to be a mechanic, but as he had not been able to obtain a job or a place at the technical institute, he took a temporary job as a clerical assistant with a contractor who was a friend of his aunt. He left this job after 18 months, still with his original ambition of becoming a mechanic, but when he found that there were still no vacancies at the technical institute for mechanics, he decided to do a course in carpentry instead. On finishing his course he applied to S.L.S.T. for a job as a carpenter, but as they had only jobs for mechanics, he was finally taken on in the job of his original choice. The other respondent moving from a non-manual to a manual job had originally

hoped to be a doctor, but had taken a temporary job as an accounts clerk while awaiting his "G.C.E." results. When these were not as good as he had hoped, and it was thus impossible for him to continue with his education, he saw an advertisement for a trainee bookbinder at the university, and he was able to obtain this, though only gradually did he relinquish his original ambition of becoming a doctor.

The movement from manual to non-manual occupations appears to be more common, having been made by six respondents: these included a bulldozer driver at S.L.S.T. who was transferred to work-study after an accident; a trainee diamond polisher who was sacked after a strike and the damaging of some stones; a printer who found that his job involved too much standing up, and was advised by his doctor to find a clerical job; a mechanic who had worked for a short time with a private Ghanaian mechanic, but who left to get a better paid job, for he only got tips while with the Ghanaian; and a trainee upholsterer in a small business, who was laid off after a year because of lack of orders. It is significant that in none of these cases had the respondents any formal training in manual occupations, though of course they must have had some in-service training. Those who did have formal training in a manual occupation were much less likely to leave it to take up non-manual employment, partly because their lower standards of secondary education did not qualify them particularly well for such jobs, and partly because they had greater commitment to manual employment. It is also interesting that some of the respondents who moved from manual to non-manual employment - particularly the mechanic and

the upholsterer - appear to have been in rather marginal businesses of an indigenous type. Although many other young Sierra Leoneans may have to pursue their careers within such small, indigenous businesses, most of the respondents were well enough qualified to seek the better conditions of employment available in bureaucratic organizations; and therefore the movement of respondents away from such small businesses is to be expected.

The two conclusions from this section may seem rather negative. Firstly, it appears that there is a medium rate of mobility between occupations among respondents, about a third of those respondents who had been employed having left their first jobs: this may seem a low rate of labour turn-over in absolute terms, but, on the other hand, it appears quite high when the youth of most respondents is taken into account. Of the respondents who had left their first jobs, about two thirds had chosen to do so, because they were dissatisfied with their positions, or saw some more attractive alternative, while the remaining third had left their first jobs involuntarily, either because it was temporary, or because they had been transferred or discharged. In other words, there were many different reasons for respondents leaving their first jobs.

Secondly, these job changes show no consistent pattern: as the causes of changing jobs are many and various, so the pattern of changes is relatively diversified or even random. It does not show any consistent trend, for it is the result of individual decisions made in response to varied situations. Some respondents lost their jobs involuntarily, while others were deliberately

attempting to move from jobs with which they were dissatisfied to jobs which they thought they would like better. Other respondents may have changed occupations merely because they wished to broaden their experience, or for reasons quite unconnected with occupations as such - for example, for geographical or health reasons. These are the kind of frictional adjustments which will be found in any free market for labour, and they probably have a marginal effect in allowing the respondents to increase their levels of occupational adjustment and satisfaction. It may be noted, however, that these changes did little to move respondents upwards in the occupational hierarchy generally, or, in particular, towards their original occupational goals. That a minority of respondents said that they changed jobs for educational reasons does indicate their continuing commitment to social mobility, but most respondents had made little progress in this respect since leaving school; and such educational advancement would normally be a precondition of achieving significant upward mobility in the occupational sphere.

Present jobs.

It is now possible to examine the main characteristics of the jobs held by respondents at the time they were interviewed, again with particular reference to their implications for the processes of social mobility and occupational adjustment. The occupational distribution of the respondents at the time they were interviewed is set out in Tables 3.13 and 3.14. It will be noticed immediately that this is very similar to the distribution of

TABLE 3.13: Present job by tribe (males only).

Present jobs	Creoles		Provincials		Total	
Teaching	9	(15%)	35	(25%)	44	(22%)
Nursing	0	(-)	1	(1%)	1	(1%)
Clerical	39	(65%)	42	(30%)	81	(40%)
Sales	2	(3%)	0	(-)	2	(1%)
Laboratory assistants, draftsmen	3	(5%)	3	(2%)	6	(3%)
Other technical	1	(2%)	1	(1%)	2	(1%)
Manual	2	(3%)	20	(14%)	22	(11%)
Driving	0	(-)	6	(4%)	6	(3%)
Other	1	(2%)	2	(1%)	3	(1%)
Unemployed	3	(5%)	32	(23%)	35	(17%)
Total	60	(100%)	142	(101%)	202	(100%)

TABLE 3.14: Present job by tribe (females only).

Present jobs	Creoles		Provincials		Total	
Teaching	15	(38%)	4	(50%)	19	(40%)
Clerical	18	(45%)	3	(38%)	21	(44%)
Sales	2	(5%)	1	(13%)	3	(6%)
Unemployed	5	(13%)	0	(-)	5	(10%)
Total	40	(101%)	8	(101%)	48	(100%)

the first jobs held by respondents, and the reasons for this should be clear from the last section, for two thirds of respondents had held only one job, and those who changed had usually moved to other jobs of a similar kind.

As the distribution of jobs held at the time of interview was very similar to the distribution of first jobs, the conclusions to be drawn from the former are very similar to those which have already been drawn from the latter; and hence they need only be summarised here. Firstly, the distribution of jobs held by females was more limited than that of jobs held by males, for, while females were found only in teaching, clerical work and sales, males were found in all of these, as well as in manual work and other more specialised jobs. This may be attributed to the norms of society which specify which jobs are suitable for women: these norms may be held as unthinkingly by the women themselves, as shown by their limited aspirations, as by prospective employers and other male members of society.

Secondly, a much higher proportion of Provincials than of Creoles were found among the unemployed, 21% of the former being unemployed, compared with only 8% of the latter. And the difference would be even greater if males alone were considered. This may be an indication of the greater difficulties experienced by Provincials in obtaining suitable employment. In view of the relatively young age and short time since leaving school of the majority of unemployed respondents, however, this does not necessarily indicate that Provincial respondents are much more prone to long-term unemployment than Creoles. The result may also

be an indication that high status Creoles tend to avoid the labour exchanges, either because they consider attendance undignified, or possibly because they have access to other means of finding jobs, perhaps through personal contacts or family contacts.

Thirdly, particularly among males, Creoles were much more likely to be found among clerical workers, while a relatively higher proportion of Provincials were in teaching and manual employment. If it is accepted that clerical work is slightly better rewarded, both in terms of status and income, than primary school teaching - which accounts for the majority of teachers in the sample - and considerably better rewarded than semi-skilled manual employment, then it would appear that respondents from more privileged social backgrounds have a better chance than those from less privileged backgrounds of reaching the most desirable occupational positions. Because the number of Provincial males in the sample is much larger than the number of Creole males, however, they constitute the majority of males even among clerical workers, though among females, and also in the total sample, Creoles predominate. The educational and occupational opportunities of Provincial females are still much less than those of any other group. Indeed, the extent of Creole representation in the total sample is largely due to the high proportion of Creole females compared with Provincial females.

The effects on occupation of other socio-economic variables were also investigated. Among Creoles, it did not appear that variations in socio-economic background, as measured by fath-

TABLE 3.15: Present job by tribe and father's educational level.

Present job	Creoles		Provincials with educated fathers		Provincials with uneducated fathers	
Teaching and white collar	88	(88%)	30	(75%)	59	(54%)
Manual	4	(4%)	4	(10%)	25	(23%)
Unemployed	8	(8%)	6	(15%)	26	(24%)
Total	100	(100%)	40	(100%)	110	(101%)

er's level of education, had any appreciable effect on the chances of getting a job, or on the type of job obtained; but among Provincials it appeared that those with educated fathers were relatively more likely to be in teaching or other white collar employment, and those with illiterate fathers to be unemployed or in manual employment. Thus only 16% of Provincials who were unemployed or in manual employment had fathers who had been to school, compared with 26% of those in clerical jobs and 44% of teachers. This is partly a result of most female respondents having educated fathers and being teachers and clerks, but it is also present among male respondents. Thus 37% of Provincial male teachers had educated fathers, compared with 24% of Provincial male clerks, and 16% of Provincial males who were either manual workers or unemployed.

It thus appears that social selectivity appears even within the Provincial section of the sample, with those from more privileged backgrounds being more likely to be teachers or clerks, and those from less privileged backgrounds being more likely to

be manual workers or unemployed. Even the Provincial respondents from educated homes, however, do not reach the occupational standards of Creoles - they fall roughly between Creoles and Provincials from uneducated homes, as can be seen from Table 3.15. This may result partly from the fact that even educated Provincial parents are generally of lower socio-economic status than their Creole counterparts; but it also seems likely that other geographical and socio-cultural factors have to be taken into account in attempting to explain the variations in educational and occupational opportunities open to Creoles and Provincials.

Despite the overall convergence between the children of educated Provincials and Creoles suggested in Table 3.15, an important divergence exists, as can be seen from the more detailed figures given in Table 3.16. This divergence concerns the importance of teaching among Provincials with educated fathers. Whereas teaching was relatively unimportant among Creoles, and especially among male Creoles, it appeared to be more important among Provincials with educated fathers than among those with illiterate fathers. Clerical work, on the other hand, which appeared to be so popular with Creoles, and which might therefore be expected to be particularly popular with the children of educated Provincials, was participated in by roughly equivalent proportions of the children of educated and uneducated Provincials. In fact, as can be seen from Table 3.16, the children of Provincial fathers with post-primary education were more likely to have clerical jobs than either the children of illiterate fathers or those whose fathers had primary education only.

TABLE 3.16: Occupation by tribe and father's level of education (detailed).

Occupation	Creoles			Provincials			Total
	Primary	Secondary	Don't know	None	Primary	Secondary	
Teachers	5 (28%)	18 (23%)	1	22 (20%)	10 (42%)	7 (44%)	63 (25%)
White collar	12 (67%)	51 (66%)	1	37 (34%)	6 (25%)	7 (44%)	114 (46%)
Manual	0 (-)	2 (3%)	2	25 (23%)	4 (17%)	0 (-)	33 (13%)
Unemployed	1 (6%)	6 (8%)	1[1]	26 (24%)	4 (17%)	2 (13%)	40 (16%)
Total	18 (101%)	77 (100%)	5	110 (101%)	24 (101%)	16 (101%)	250 (100%)

[1] This respondent had an illiterate father; but his father was a Gambian rather than a proper Creole.

Rates of pay.

We may now move on to a brief examination of the rates of pay which respondents had achieved. These rates of pay are of particular interest here for two main reasons: firstly, they are an important factor affecting levels of occupational satisfaction; and secondly, they set limits on the respondents' styles of life. Not only will the range of incomes be of interest, but also the variations in income between different occupations, and different socio-economic categories. Information on monthly incomes, broken down by occupations and socio-economic categories, is presented in Tables 3.17 to 3.21. Such information is only provided for those respondents who were employed, it being assumed that the income of unemployed respondents, consisting mainly of "dashes" from their families and friends, would be small and irregular.

It appears that the basic pay of about three quarters of respondents was less than Le40 (£20) per month, the great majority of these being in the Le20 to Le40 range. Only four respondents appeared to earn less than Le20 per month, and all of these were apprentices or trainees on daily rates of between 75c. and 80c. per day. At the top end of the salary scale was a group of seven teachers who had either the Advanced Teacher's Certificate or the Higher Teacher's Certificate awarded by Milton Margai Training College or Fourah Bay College, and thus earned between Le70 and Le100 per month. Six of these seven teachers were males, and all were Provincials. The next most highly paid respondent was a female Creole secretary on a basic salary of Le65 per month.

TABLE 3.17: Occupation by basic monthly pay (males only).

Occupation	Basic monthly pay				
	Under Le30	Le30 - Le39	Le40 - Le49	Le50 and over	Total
Teaching	20 (45%)	13 (30%)	5 (11%)	6 (14%)	44 (100%)
Clerical	19 (21%)	43 (48%)	25 (28%)	3 (3%)	90 (100%)
Manual	26 (79%)	5 (15%)	2 (6%)	0 (-)	33 (100%)
Total	65 (39%)	61 (37%)	32 (19%)	9 (5%)	167 (100%)

TABLE 3.18: Occupation by basic monthly pay (females only).

Occupation	Basic monthly pay				
	Under Le30	Le30 - Le39	Le40 - Le49	Le50 and over	Total
Teaching	8 (42%)	10 (53%)	0 (-)	1 (5%)	19 (100%)
Clerical	2 (8%)	10 (42%)	9 (38%)	3 (13%)	24 (101%)
Total	10 (23%)	20 (47%)	9 (21%)	4 (9%)	43 (100%)

TABLE 3.19: Sex and tribe by basic monthly pay,

Sex and tribe	Basic monthly pay				
	Under Le30	Le30 - Le39	Le40 - Le49	Le50 and over	Total
Creole males	15	27	13	2	57
	(26%)	(47%)	(23%)	(4%)	(100%)
Provincial males	50	34	19	7	110
	(45%)	(31%)	(17%)	(6%)	(99%)
Creole females	9	15	9	2	35
	(26%)	(43%)	(26%)	(6%)	(101%)
Provincial females	1	5	0	2	8
	(13%)	(63%)	(-)	(25%)	(101%)
Total	75	81	41	13	210
	(36%)	(39%)	(20%)	(6%)	(101%)

There is considerable variation in the basic pay of different types of occupation. The average level of basic pay seems lowest among manual workers, four fifths of them having a basic pay of less than Le30 per month compared with only 28% of other workers. Clerical workers were particularly unlikely to earn under Le30 per month, only 18% of them being found in this salary range, while over three quarters of them are concentrated in the Le30 to Le50 range. This appears to support the earlier assertions that for the unqualified secondary school leaver, clerical work is a more attractive occupation than teaching. The salary range of teachers is more dispersed than those of other workers: they tend to be concentrated at the lower end of this range, with 44% earning less than Le30 and 81% earning less than Le40 per month, but, as mentioned above, they also monopolise the most highly paid positions in the sample. This dispersion is to be explained by differences in levels of training, qualification, and experience, for the untrained school leaver starts on a salary of only Le22 per month, a teacher with basic teaching qualifications is paid between Le30 and Le40, while those with the A.T.C. or H.T.C. make over Le70 per month.

Take home pay may also be of interest, for various additions to or subtractions from the basic pay may alter the overall picture. Respondents were asked about their opportunities for making extra money through overtime or private jobs, and about the various deductions made from their pay packets; and they were also asked to state their total earnings in the previous month. About a quarter (50/210) of the respondents said that they had the

opportunity to make extra money from overtime, 18% reporting that they had regular overtime, and 6% that they had occasional overtime. These opportunities were very unevenly distributed between the three occupational categories, with four fifths (27/33) of manual workers having overtime, usually on a regular basis, compared with only one fifth (23/114) of clerks and no teachers. Most of the clerks with overtime worked for U.A.C., while there appeared to be no overtime working among those in the civil service or at Fourah Bay College. Opportunities for overtime at commercial firms may be one of the reasons for the commonly held belief that commercial firms pay better than the government.

A small number of respondents - perhaps about ten in all - earned extra money from private jobs. The highest paid respondent in the sample was a 21 year old secondary school teacher with his H.T.C. who was making Le100 per month from his main job in an established secondary school, and an additional Le32 from his attachment to a private school. His appointment to this latter institution was mainly nominal, to raise the proportion of trained teachers on its staff to the level required by government regulations. A bookbinder stated that once every two or three months he might work part-time for a local bookbinder, which could bring in an extra Le16 per week. A clerk at the Brewery had had a job as an encyclopedia salesman before coming to his present job, and he carried it on on a part-time basis after being employed at the Brewery. Apart from these cases, part-time employment seemed to be infrequent, and to involve only small amounts of money. Some teachers made a little extra from private tutoring,

an apprentice electrician would sometimes get small private jobs, and a female teacher made a little extra money from sewing.

Deductions were also made from respondents' basic salaries, but these were generally marginal. The majority of respondents had income tax deducted at source, but the amounts involved were usually very small - even the highest paid respondent, mentioned above, was only paying Le2.41c. Three quarters of teachers had their dues for the teachers' union deducted, and some who worked for mission schools also had their church dues automatically deducted, not always with their full consent. Members of trade unions also usually had their union dues deducted at source. A few respondents, mainly clerical workers (particularly at U.A.C. and F.B.C.), were also repaying loans or salary advances. In general, however, the amounts involved were not very large.

The overall effect of these additions to and subtractions from basic pay does not greatly alter the total distribution of incomes, but it does tend to narrow the gaps between the various occupational categories, as can be seen from Table 3.20. This was partly due to a reduction in the salary of some clerical workers who were repaying salary advances and higher purchase commitments, but was mainly because the majority of manual workers were able to increase their take-home pay by working overtime. Indeed the effect of overtime working among manual workers largely erodes the gap in incomes between manual workers and teachers, except at the top of the scale where trained teachers are represent-

TABLE 3.20: Occupation by pay last month.

Occupation	Pay last month: Under Le30	Le30 - Le39	Le40 - Le49	Le50 and over	Total
Teaching	28 (44%)	23 (37%)	5 (8%)	7 (11%)	63 (100%)
Clerical	28 (25%)	51 (45%)	24 (21%)	11 (10%)	114 (101%)
Manual	14 (42%)	15 (45%)	3 (9%)	1 (3%)	33 (99%)
Total	70 (33%)	89 (42%)	32 (15%)	19 (9%)	210 (99%)

ed. White collar workers, however, remain on average better off than others. Their representation at the top end of the salary scale was increased by four laboratory assistants at the Brewery, who, through overtime working during the Christmas rush, had made between Le80 and Le140 during the previous month. These included a Creole who had just left Form VI, and collected Le83 in his first pay-packet; and a Mandingo whose basic pay was Le56 per month, but who in the previous month had made Le138. This made him the highest paid member of the sample during the previous month, but he admitted that this was well above his normal pay-packet.

To sum up, although the range of earnings was wide - from Le18 to Le138 in the previous month - the great majority of respondents earned between Le20 and Le40. In terms of basic pay, clerical workers appeared best off and manual workers worst off, but the latter were able to narrow the gap considerably through overtime working. Teachers had a very wide distribution of income, for the unqualified school leaver started on the low level of Le22 per month, while the holder of an H.T.C. or A.T.C. could make over Le100 per month.[1] A more comprehensive relative evaluation of these occupations would require other factors besides income to be taken into account, such as hours of work, conditions of work, and career prospects. Thus, though the take-home pay of manual workers may not be much less than that of teachers or even clerical workers, they have to work longer and in less pleasant conditions to earn it, and it seems probable that

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[1] Of course graduate teachers, found mainly in the secondary schools, earn even more; but they have been excluded from the present survey because of their university education.

their chances of improving their occupational position or even their level of income during the course of their careers is probably poorer than that of teachers or clerical workers. These wider issues cannot be discussed here, however. It may only be noted that, insofar as secondary school leavers prefer white collar to other types of middle level employment, they are merely recognising that white collar employment is the best rewarded for individuals of their level of education. Thus, not only does the present evidence support Foster's thesis on the rationality of secondary school leavers in choosing white collar employment because it is the most commonly available, but it also suggests that the rationality of their choice is manifest in the fact that such employment is more highly rewarded than the alternatives.

It may also be of interest to examine whether levels of income vary with any of the respondents' other characteristics, such as their sex and tribe. When the relationship between sex, tribe and type of occupation is remembered, it seems likely that there will also be a relationship between sex, tribe and level of income. The first thing that may be noted, however, is that there appears to be no discrimination between the sexes in terms of level of income. In fact, on average, females in the sample appear to earn slightly more than males: only 23% of females had a basic salary of less than Le30 per month, compared with 39% of males. Most females are to be found in the Le30 to Le39 per month range, but they are also well represented in the more highly paid positions. Much of this variation between the sexes is

TABLE 3.21: Sex and tribe by pay last month.

Sex and tribe	Pay last month				
	Under Le30	Le30 - Le39	Le40 - Le49	Le50 and over	Total
Creole males	17 (30%)	27 (47%)	9 (16%)	4 (7%)	57 (100%)
Provincial males	42 (38%)	42 (38%)	16 (15%)	10 (9%)	110 (100%)
Creole females	9 (26%)	16 (46%)	7 (20%)	3 (9%)	35 (101%)
Provincial females	2 (25%)	4 (50%)	0 (-)	2 (25%)	8 (100%)
Total	70 (33%)	89 (42%)	32 (15%)	19 (9%)	210 (99%)

accounted for by the proportion of males in manual employment with salaries of less than Le30 per month, but even of males in teaching and other white collar employment, 29% were earning less than Le30 per month. It appears that a higher proportion of females than males were in the more highly paid clerical categories, earning Le40 per month and over, but that a lower proportion were in the more highly paid teaching categories. Looking at Respondents' levels of income in the previous month, the advantage of female respondents is partly reduced, the take-home pay of 26% of females having been less than Le30, compared with the take-home pay of 35% of males. In conclusion, then, it may be said that among secondary school leavers in Sierra Leone, females appear to suffer no discrimination in terms of income when they are doing the same types of jobs as males. Although they may have more limited aspirations and opportunities than their male counterparts, when they do obtain reasonable jobs, as in the present sample, they will be paid the same salary.

The relationship between level of income and socio-economic background may also be of interest, especially if it indicates inequality of opportunity for reaching the more highly paid positions. Some evidence on this is presented in Table 3.19. This shows that Creoles did in fact have some advantage in reaching the better paid positions, 74% of them having a basic income of Le30 per month or over, compared with only 57% of Provincials. This result may again be partly explained by the concentration of the lower paid manual workers among the Provincials; and it may

also be affected by the higher proportion of better paid females among the Creoles. This would again seem to indicate that respondents from more privileged backgrounds had some advantage over those from less privileged backgrounds in attaining the most desirable occupations.

In terms of take-home pay for the previous month, the difference between Creoles and Provincials is greatly reduced, as can be seen from Table 3.21; but to achieve this level the manual workers among the Provincials had to work longer hours in less pleasant conditions. At the top end of the pay scale, Provincials are well represented, but they are mainly teachers who have undergone more intensive, specialised training than other respondents to reach such positions. Thus, although the variations are not large, it appears that respondents from more privileged socio-economic backgrounds retain a slight advantage over others in the competition for the most desirable occupations.[1]

Occupational satisfaction and dissatisfaction.

In understanding the extent of respondents' adaptation to the occupational sphere, their levels of occupational satisfaction, and the factors causing such occupational satisfaction or dissatisfaction, are of special significance. From Tables 3.22 and 3.23 it can be seen that between three fifths and two thirds of respondents said that they were satisfied or very satisfied with their jobs, one quarter said that they were dissatisfied,

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[1] Levels of income are also related to other variables, such as father's level of education, Province of birth, and form left secondary school, which may also be taken as indices of socio-economic background.

TABLE 3.22: Occupation by occupational satisfaction (males only).

Occupation	Level of occupational satisfaction: Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Mixed	Don't know	Total
Teaching	29 (66%)	11 (25%)	3 (7%)	1 (2%)	44 (100%)
Clerical	52 (58%)	28 (31%)	9 (10%)	1 (1%)	90 (100%)
Manual	16 (48%)	11 (33%)	6 (18%)	0 (-)	33 (99%)
Total	97 (58%)	50 (30%)	18 (11%)	2 (1%)	167 (100%)

Probability: with "dissatisfied" and "mixed" columns combined and "don't know" values excluded:-

d.f. = 2; X^2 = 2.76; $0.30 > p. > 0.20$.

TABLE 3.23: Occupation by occupational satisfaction (females only).

Occupation	Level of occupational satisfaction: Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Mixed	Don't know	Total
Teaching	16 (84%)	2 (11%)	1 (5%)	0 (-)	19 (100%)
Clerical	21 (88%)	3 (13%)	0 (-)	0 (-)	24 (101%)
Total	37 (86%)	5 (12%)	1 (2%)	0 (-)	43 (100%)

while about one tenth said that they had mixed feelings. In fact, the levels of satisfaction with jobs at the time of interview appear to be very similar to the initial levels of satisfaction with their first jobs, as can be seen by comparing Tables 3.22 and 3.23 with Table 3.10. This suggests considerable stability in levels of occupational satisfaction. This may partly result from the method of gathering the data: in supplying information on past attitudes, respondents may have tended to project backwards from their present feelings, resulting in a partly spurious correlation between past and present levels of occupational satisfaction. But it probably also reflects actual stability in levels of occupational satisfaction, based on the persistence of respondents' initial reactions to their jobs. After all, most respondents had been in their jobs for relatively short periods of time, and had as yet no particular reasons for changing their original reactions.

Examination of Tables 3.22 and 3.23 also shows that present occupational satisfaction varies with type of occupation in a similar way to initial satisfaction. Thus occupational satisfaction appears highest among teachers and lowest among manual workers: of all teachers (both males and females) seven tenths declared themselves satisfied or very satisfied with their jobs, compared with only about two thirds of clerical workers, and less than half of manual workers. The latter were particularly likely to have ambivalent feelings about their work; and the reasons for this will be discussed below. It should be noted, however, that when differences between the sexes are taken into

account, these variations in levels of satisfaction between different occupations are not statistically significant.[1]

There is, however, a significant variation in occupational satisfaction between males and females, the latter tending to be more satisfied than the former: thus 86% of employed females declared themselves to be satisfied or very satisfied with their jobs, compared with only 58% of employed males.[2] This was partly because teaching and other white collar employment, in which all females were concentrated, were generally found more satisfying than manual employment; but it also appears that females in each occupational category were more satisfied than their male counterparts. This may be because their occupational aspirations were generally lower than those of males, and thus more easily achieved, while males more often had to come to terms with the frustration of their original occupational aspirations. There is also a tendency to believe that teaching and other white collar occupations are more suitable for women than for men; and this

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1 A number of X^2 tests were carried out on the relationship between type of occupation and occupational satisfaction, for both all employed respondents, and for employed male respondents alone; but none of the variations appeared to be significant at more than the 0.05 level.

Level of occupational satisfaction also appeared to vary with the type of employer. Satisfaction appeared to be highest among civil servants, 79% of whom said that they were satisfied, and teachers, 70% of whom said that they were satisfied. At U.A.C. and the Brewery there were intermediate levels of satisfaction, with three fifths of respondents in each of these firms saying that they were satisfied. In contrast, the level of satisfaction appeared to be particularly low at S.L.S.T., in which only one third of the employees said they were satisfied.

2 $X^2 = 11.18$; d.f. $= 2$; $p. < 0.01$.
This variation is thus statistically significant.

TABLE 3.24: Tribe by level of occupational satisfaction.

Tribe	Level of occupational satisfaction				
	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Mixed	Don't know	Total
Creoles	64 (70%)	21 (23%)	7 (8%)	0 (-)	92 (101%)
Provincials	70 (59%)	34 (29%)	12 (10%)	2 (2%)	118 (100%)
Total	134 (64%)	55 (26%)	19 (9%)	2 (1%)	210 (100%)

Probability: d.f. = 2; X^2 = 1.9; $0.50 > p. > 0.30$.

may also contribute to the higher level of occupational satisfaction among the former compared with the latter.

Level of job satisfaction also varies with tribe, but, considering the inter-relationships of tribe, type of employment, and level of job satisfaction, the variation is much smaller than might have been expected. As can be seen from Table 3.24, 70% of Creoles stated that they were satisfied with their jobs, compared with 59% of Provincials. This variation, however, is not statistically significant; and is largely accounted for by the higher proportion of more satisfied females among the former. Looking at males alone, 61% of Creoles (35/57) and 56% of Provincials (62/110) stated that they were satisfied with their jobs. This difference may seem small in view of the fact that most dissatisfied manual workers were Provincials, but their absolute numbers were actually small, and were greatly diluted by the much

larger number of more satisfied Provincials in teaching and clerical work. The general impression, then, is of a relatively high level of job satisfaction, varying little between Creoles and Provincials, and probably resulting from the relatively low levels of occupational expectation. Respondents knew that with their present levels of education they could not expect much better jobs, and therefore, at least in the short-run, they were satisfied with the jobs that they had been able to obtain.

We may now move on to look at some of the aspects of their jobs which gave satisfaction to the respondents, and which may therefore help explain their relatively successful adjustment to their new occupations, despite the fact that these often did not measure up to their original aspirations. Information on the sources of occupational satisfaction among respondents, broken down by type of occupation, is summarised in Table 3.25. It may be noted immediately that that the data in Table 3.25 confirm the evidence already presented on the relative satisfaction of respondents in different occupational categories, for all teachers were able to mention something they liked about their jobs, while 13% of white collar workers and 27% of manual workers said that there was nothing that they liked about their work.

It can also be seen from Table 3.25 that the nature of the work itself seems to be the greatest source of occupational satisfaction, being mentioned by almost half of the respondents; and probably also being relevant to others, who, because of the non-directed nature of the interview, did not mention it. Most occupations, at least of the type entered by the respondents in

TABLE 3.25: Present occupation by sources of occupational satisfaction.

Occupation	Sources of occupational satisfaction								
	None	Work	Educat-ional	Pay	Manage-ment	National service	Career pro-spects, security	Other	Total[1]
Teachers	0	33	36	5	3	9	1	15	63
	-	52%	57%	8%	5%	14%	2%	24%	
White collar	15	52	44	21	10	1	9	24	114
	13%	46%	39%	18%	9%	1%	8%	21%	
Manual	9	13	9	1	1	0	1	4	33
	27%	39%	27%	3%	3%	-	3%	12%	
Total	24	98	89	27	14	10	11	43	210
	11%	47%	42%	13%	7%	5%	5%	20%	

[1] As multiple responses were allowed, the totals may add up to more than 100%.

the present survey, have some interesting aspects; and these promoted the satisfaction, and hence successful occupational adjustment, of the respondents. As Sofer points out, although young people may at first have no particular interest in the type of job which they enter:

> "It appears that adult workers tend to become emotionally involved in whatever occupation they happen to be working at, or at least to adapt themselves to those social arrangements in which they are implicated" (Sofer, 1974, p. 43);

and this is one of the "powerful adaptive mechanisms [which] operate to reconcile persons with types of jobs that are not their first choice" (Sofer, 1974, p. 42).

Most workers probably found some aspects of their work that they liked or found interesting. Thus accounts clerks might say that they liked working with figures, while machine operators might say that they liked the experience of working on different kinds of machines. Teachers were particularly likely to say that they gained satisfaction from the nature of their work; and they usually expressed this in terms of their liking for working with children.

The second most commonly mentioned source of occupational satisfaction is the educational nature of the work, this being mentioned by about two fifths of all respondents. Young Sierra Leoneans value education partly as an end in itself, but mainly because it is the route to occupational and hence social mobility; and the importance attached to the educational nature of work is an indication of their continuing orientation towards mobility. Respondents wanted jobs which were "educational" - i.e. which

encourage them to learn more, or gain more experience; and hence to move on to better jobs. Once again teachers mentioned most frequently that this was a source of satisfaction in their work; it was felt that not only did the teacher improve his education by prepa ing his lessons each day, but also that he had more time for private studies, and more opportunity to improve his qualifications through formal training in teacher training colleges and universities. It seems likely that the higher level of occupational satisfaction among teachers compared with other occupational categories may be explained mainly in terms of the two previously mentioned factors, namely the nature of the work and its educational character, for these were both mentioned most frequently by teachers, and they are by far the most important sources of occupational satisfaction. On the other hand, they were mentioned least frequently by manual workers, and this may explain their relatively low level of occupational satisfaction. In particular manual workers were dissatisfied with lack of educational opportunities, for they recognised that education is the key to occupational and social mobility - this will be discussed in more detail below.

Other sources of occupational satisfaction, such as the level of pay, relations with management and other workers, security and career prospects, and service to the nation or community were all mentioned by some respondents; but they were mentioned relatively infrequently compared with the two factors previously noted. Only the level of pay was mentioned by over a tenth of respondents as a source of occupational satisfaction; and this

was only mentioned grudgingly. They did not consider that their pay was good in any absolute sense, but they were glad to be able to earn some money to defray their immediate expenses, and perhaps to save a little which they might use later to further their education.

Rather than being a source of satisfaction, however, the level of pay was usually a source of dissatisfaction. As can be seen from Table 3.26, the level of pay was the most commonly mentioned source of occupational dissatisfaction, having been mentioned by almost three fifths of respondents. In general, respondents thought that their pay was too low to meet their necessary expenditures, and that they deserved to be more highly rewarded for their educational achievements. A few of the more poorly paid respondents complained that their level of pay was hardly better than an illiterate labourer. It has already been mentioned several times that the primary motive of secondary school leavers seeking work is to make some money; and it is therefore not surprising that they should be sensitive about the level of their pay. Teachers were more dissatisfied with the level of their pay than clerical workers, which is consistent with their relative levels of pay; but, perhaps surprisingly, the low paid manual workers were least likely to complain about their level of pay. This may be because they were able to raise their take-home pay through overtime; but it also seems probable that they had a lower level of expectations. Probably because they left school earlier than most clerical workers, and because they were more likely to compare themselves with other manual workers, they would expect a

TABLE 3.26: Present occupation by sources of occupational dissatisfaction.

Occupation	Sources of occupational dissatisfaction								
	None	Work	Pay	Management	Career prospects, security, etc.	Not educational	Not related to training	Other	Total[1]
Teachers	7	14	43	8	0	0	0	9	63
	11%	22%	68%	13%	-	-	-	14%	
White collar	38	14	62	15	3	3	0	15	114
	33%	12%	54%	13%	3%	3%	-	13%	
Manual	5	4	15	-	7	6	6	5	33
	15%	12%	45%	-	21%	18%	18%	15%	
Total	50	32	120	23	10	9	6	29	210
	24%	15%	57%	11%	5%	4%	3%	14%	

[1] As multiple responses were allowed, the percentages may add up to more than 100%.

rather lower level of income, and thus be less likely to experience dissatisfaction.

The nature of the work itself and relations with management were the second and third most important sources of occupational dissatisfaction; but they were much less important than levels of pay, being mentioned by only 15% and 11% of respondents respectively. Interestingly enough, teachers, who were most likely to give the nature of their work as a source of occupational satisfaction, were also most likely to give it as a source of occupational dissatisfaction. In particular, they complained that some pupils were difficult to teach or were badly behaved, and that the preparation of lecture notes, compulsory in many schools, was tedious. Clerical workers complained that filing was very dull, that some of the files were heavy to carry around, and that they found it boring to sit in the same place all day. Relations with superiors - headmasters in the case of teachers and managers in the case of clerical workers - also seemed to be strained in some cases; and this was more noticeable among teachers and clerical workers than among manual workers.

Other complaints about conditions of service, such as career prospects, security, etc., were relatively uncommon, except among manual workers, and this is probably a true reflection of the less satisfactory condition of manual workers relative to teachers and clerical workers in these respects. In fact the higher level of occupational dissatisfaction among manual workers appears to stem largely from their uncertainty, and even pessimism, about their career prospects.

The complaints of manual workers in this respect centred on three main areas. Firstly, many of the semi-skilled workers - particularly the machine operators at the Brewery - had been trained in particular skills at the Trade Centre or Technical Institute, and then had been unable to get a job in the area of their specialization. Not only did they feel naturally disappointed that their skills were being wasted, but they also felt, probably quite rightly, that they were being retrained in occupations of lower skill, experience from which would be less easily transferred to other occupational situations. Secondly, there seemed to be a particularly high level of discontent among the drivers of heavy equipment at S.L.S.T. They were moving into occupations which had previously been performed by illiterates; and the secondary school leavers - some with G.C.E. "O"-levels - were not sure how to evaluate their own position. In particular, they were unable to see a satisfactory career ladder ahead of them, though they did feel that draglines were better than bulldozers, for some dragline operators had been sent overseas for further training. In addition, there seems to have been some tension in the relationship between educated and illiterate drivers, with the former looking down on the latter, and the latter teasing the former. Thirdly, manual workers felt dissatisfied with their opportunities for further education. Thus a number of respondents said that they did not like their jobs because they had no training programmes, or because one could not get a correspondence course to go with them.

These points illustrate the importance of perceptions of

adequate educational and occupational opportunities, or a career ladder, as a basis of occupational satisfaction among secondary school leavers. Although many respondents had accepted jobs well below their original aspirations, and even seemed reasonably happy with such jobs, their level of satisfaction was dependent on them being able to see further educational and occupational opportunities. When they were unable to see such opportunities, as in the case of many manual workers, they were not satisfied with their occupational positions; and this may account for the differences in levels of occupational satisfaction between manual workers and others in the present sample.

Finally, more evidence on the extent of respondents' occupational satisfaction and adjustment can be gained from their immediate occupational plans. Do they plan to change their jobs in the near future, or do they intent to remain in their present jobs? In an attempt to assess their "realistic" occupational preferences, respondents were asked if there were any jobs they would prefer to their present ones, assuming that they were to change jobs immediately, and with their present educational qualifications. That respondents were reasonably satisfied with their present jobs, or at least reconciled to them, is indicated by the fact that three fifths of respondents - 57% (95/167) of males and 67% (29/43(of females - answered the question in the negative. Although respondents may not have been entirely satisfied with their current employment, they recognised that it was probably at least as good as any alternative they could obtain in the short-run. The higher proportion of female respondents who answered that there was no job that they would prefer to their present one, at least in

TABLE 3.27: Present occupation by preferred occupation (immediate),

Present occupation	Present occupation: None	Professional, admin., exec.	Teaching	Nursing technical	Clerical	Manual	Farming	Other	Total
Teaching	41	2	1	2	15	0	0	2	63
	65%	3%	2%	3%	24%	-	-	3%	100%
White collar	72	5	3	6	22	3	1	2	114
	63%	4%	3%	5%	19%	3%	1%	2%	100%
Manual	11	0	1	0	1	18	2	0	33
	33%	-	3%	-	3%	55%	6%	-	100%
Total	124	7	5	8	38	21	3	4	210
	59%	3%	2%	4%	18%	10%	1%	2%	99%

the short-run, is consistent with the previous findings that females tend to be more satisfied with their employment situation than males.

It is also worth noting that teachers and other white collar workers are more likely to be reconciled, at least in the short-run, to their current employment than manual workers, 65% of teachers and 63% of other white collar workers stating that there was no occupation that they preferred to their own, compared with only one third of manual workers. This is again consistent with the expressed levels of satisfaction in these various occupations. As was indicated above, most dissatisfied manual workers had been forced into employment outside their own particular specialities; and in answer to the questions on preferred occupations, they answered that they would like work more in line with the training that they had received at the Trade Centre or Technical Institute.

Thus even among the minority of respondents who stated that they would like to change their jobs, the preferred occupations seemed very realistic: practically all were in the white collar, manual, teaching and nursing fields in which the respondents were already established. Only a very small minority said that they wanted jobs which would have been classified as professional, administrative, managerial or executive; and four out of the seven such choices were only for executive posts in the civil service, which, in the circumstances, seemed very reasonable as a level of aspiration or even expectation. More common, however, were desired changes within the same status level, and

often within the same occupational category: for example, a clerk might wish to become a typist, or merely to change his or her employer. Particularly among clerical and manual workers, as can be seen from Table 3.27, jobs within the same occupational category were usually desired.

A rather different pattern was noted among teachers, however: both male and female teachers who wished to change their jobs usually wished to enter a rather different occupation, and particularly clerical work. Thus, though in total teachers were the least likely group to wish to change their occupation, about one quarter of them - 27% of males and 16% of females - would have preferred a clerical job to teaching. This desire to leave teaching is not balanced by any desire among those in other occupations to enter teaching; and this appears to confirm the earlier impression that secondary school leavers in Sierra Leone find clerical work a more desirable occupation than primary school teaching. These preferences, however, do not mean that the teaching force is likely to be immediately depleted due to an exodus of young teachers moving into other white collar employment - such jobs are not numerous enough to absorb many of the discontented teachers - but it may have implications for the occupational satisfaction of teachers and the quality of teaching. If the best school leavers go into clerical work rather than teaching, and if many teachers are discontented because they would have preferred other types of work, then the quality of teaching is likely to suffer.

The overall conclusion of this section is that the majority of respondents appear to have made a surprisingly successful adjustment to their occupational situations, especially in view of their failure to achieve the high occupational positions to which they aspired while still at school. Their successful adaptation can be inferred from the facts that the majority of the respondents said that they were satisfied with their present jobs, and that there were no jobs to which they would wish to immediately change. Important in promoting occupational satisfaction among the respondents were the facts that they were pleased to obtain any jobs which would earn them a little bit of money, and that in general they found some interesting aspects to the jobs which they did obtain.

It should be noted, however, that this successful adjustment does not mean that respondents wished to remain in the same jobs in the longer-run. Their occupational adjustment was essentially a compromise in the short-run, for they recognised that with their present qualifications they could do little to better themselves occupationally; and they therefore expressed themselves satisfied with their present jobs, and stated that they did not wish to change jobs - i.e. they did not wish to change in the short-run to any job of a similar status level. As will be seen in the next chapter, however, in the long-run many respondents hoped to be able to improve their educational qualifications, and thus obtain jobs of a higher status. And they would not have been satisfied with their present jobs in the longer-run, for they were still orientated towards future social mobility. In fact

beliefs in the possibility of future social mobility may also have been an important factor in promoting occupational satisfaction in the short-run; and jobs were evaluated according to the extent to which they were seen as "educational", and hence as encouraging such social mobility. This helps explain why manual workers were generally less satisfied with their jobs than teachers or clerical workers: manual workers found themselves with fewer opportunities for further education, and as this was the main means of social mobility, they were unable to see a clear career ladder ahead of them. Teachers and clerical workers, on the other hand, still believed that they would be able to re-enter the main academic stream of education, and in this way achieve further social mobility. It is being argued here that their beliefs in the possibility of future social mobility through education were important in increasing their level of occupational satisfaction in the short-run, for they allowed them to define their present position as only temporary. These points will be taken up again in the next chapter.

Summary and conclusions.

The results of this chapter have indicated that, though respondents generally had high aspirations, particularly for professional employment, because they had to leave school earlier than they wished they generally had to be satisfied with occupations of a much lower standard, particularly in clerical work and teaching. It appears that respondents' occupational aspirations reflected the arrangement of these occupations in the social structure as a whole, with respondents being likely to aspire to the mostly highly reward-

ed and evaluated positions, while their expectations on leaving school were determined by a realistic perception of the occupational opportunities available for young people of their abilities and qualifications: clerical work and teaching were probably the best they could hope to obtain. Thus the present data on secondary school leavers in Sierra Leone support the conclusions of Foster on secondary school students in Ghana, especially when he states:

> "In large measure, their aspirations appear closely related to their perceptions of various occupations in terms of prestige and income factors, whereas patterns of expectation appear to be meaningfully linked with the characteristics of the contemporary occupational structure" (Foster, 1965, p.284).[1]

As pointed out in the introduction of this chapter, such aspirations and expectations are neither irrational nor entirely unrealistic. In the case of aspirations, respondents were quite rational in choosing the most highly rewarded occupations, especially while still at school, for their relatively high levels of education partially qualify them for such positions. Indeed some of their school mates who managed to continue with their education may well have gone on to such occupations. It appears, however, that respondents were unrealistic in believing that they would be able to continue with their education in the same way, but some of them might still have opportunities to do so. They were quite realistic, however, in recognising the type of work they were likely to obtain when they had to discontinue their studies - namely clerical work or teaching - and at the time they were interviewed they also realised that they had little opportunity of

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[1] For a more detailed statement of Foster's views on the determinants of occupational aspirations and expectations, see Foster (1965, pp. 273-274, 282-284).

changing to anything better.

It appears that the allocation of respondents in the present sample into specific jobs depended not so much on their positive preferences, but rather on the limited occupational opportunities which were available for them. In other words, rather than choosing their own occupations, they tended to be channelled into them. This is mainly a result of the structure of occupational opportunities; but also important in allocating respondents to various types of occupation was the level and type of their education. The majority of respondents felt that their education suited them especially for clerical work, teaching and other white collar jobs; and indeed their largely academic training suited them for little else. Those who attended a technical institute or trade centre rather naturally drifted towards semi-skilled manual employment, but very often it was felt that this was not so much the result of a positive choice or preference, but rather because they could see no alternative. It was also noted that technically-trained respondents were often unable to obtain the types of jobs for which they had been specifically trained, but were forced, often against their wills, into other types of manual employment, which again indicates that occupational opportunities rather than preferences or education were the ultimate determinants of occupational selection.[1] The general impression, then, is that respondents in the present sample had little autonomy in

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[1] Clignet and Foster warn of these dangers of technical education, and particularly of its lack of flexibility in producing workers with the required skills (Clignet and Foster, 1966, pp. 187-8, 211). Another difficulty for the products of technical schools is that employers do not usually recognise their qualifications as an adequate training in their specific field; and prefer applicants for skilled work who have been through a practical apprenticeship.

choosing their own occupations, but were channelled into the types of occupation which were available. These were usually quite different from their original aspirations.

Such results do not fit in well with the approach to occupational selection of such writers as Ginzberg and Super, with "its central yet unproven assumption that occupational choice-making is the critical determinant at work in the transition into an adult working role" (Roberts, 1974, p. 147). On the other hand, they appear to be quite congruent with Roberts' "Opportunity structure model" of occupational selection. Writing of the results of his research on occupational selection among school leavers in Britain, he states:

> "Indeed, the results of the investigation, taken in conjunction with other studies of British school leavers, suggest that amongst young people in Britain at any rate, occupational choice does not play the key role in the entry into employment that Super and Ginzberg ascribed to it. Popular commonsense conceives individuals as making up their minds about the sort of work that they wish to do, and then selecting appropriate jobs. Occupational roles are thought of as being chosen by their players. Popular commonsense however, is not always consistent with the social reality, and the idea that individuals choose jobs and then enter them is a proposition that requires supporting empirical evidence before it can be accepted" (Roberts, 1974, pp. 146-147).

Roberts concludes that the evidence does not support the position of Ginzberg and Super, and so puts forward an alternative theory;

> "In showing how the occupations that school leavers enter, and the sequences of career movements that they subsequently make, are explicable in terms of the different opportunity structures that are opened up to various groups of young people I am proposing an alternative theory of entry into employment to those offered by Ginzberg and Super. These two theorists interpret careers in terms of the working out of young people's ambitions. Factors such as education and home background are held to influence occup-

> ational placement only in so far as they affect the development of occupational aspirations. To Ginzberg a career is a process of self-actualization during which an individual brings an occupational aim into reality. Super conceives careers in a similar way although he allows for some feedback from the experience of work into the occupational choice-making process itself. The alternative theory that I am proposing asserts that the momentum and direction of school leavers' careers are derived from the way in which their job opportunities become cumulatively structured and young people are placed in varying degrees of social proximity, with different ease of access to different types of employment. The ambitions of school leavers adapt to the direction that their careers take, and are not major determinants of the occupations that young people enter" (Roberts, 1974, pp. 151-152).

Such a theory seems quite consistent with the evidence presented here; but some of its implications for Sierra Leone will only become clear in the next chapter.

This is not, however, to totally discount the role of choice in occupational selection in Sierra Leone. Some secondary school students who were more successful than the respondents in continuing with their education may well have been able to proceed to the occupation of their first choice. In addition, it was seen that while at school female respondents had lower aspirations than their male counterparts; and they also were often able to obtain the kinds of jobs to which they originally aspired. Finally, insofar as the respondents were able to obtain white collar occupations in preference to manual ones, it may be said that they also exercised a measure of choice. As a number of writers have pointed out, occupational preferences do not usually consist of a single chosen occupation, but rather of a range of occupations which are more or less acceptable; and white collar occupations can be seen as constituting the lower part of this

range for respondents in the present survey. The main point here, however, is that respondents did not usually obtain the occupation of their first choice, but were channelled into lower status occupations.

Variations in occupational aspirations, expectations, and achievements between male and female respondents were investigated; and, as a measure of differential opportunities for social mobility, their variations between respondents of differing socio-economic background - measured mainly in terms of tribe - were also examined. The interesting result here was that while occupational aspirations varied mainly between the sexes, with relatively little variation in terms of socio-economic background, the variations in actual occupational achievements between respondents of differing socio-economic backgrounds were greater than the equivalent variations in their aspirations, while the variations in occupational achievements between the sexes was less than the equivalent variation in their aspirations. As a result, the variations in occupational achievements between those of differing socio-economic backgrounds were at least as great as the variations between the sexes, despite the very different pattern of occupational aspirations.

It appears that the variations in occupational aspirations between males and females are rather similar to those found in Western industrialized societies, with males having more ambitious aspirations for professional, technical and senior administrative positions, while females had much more modest aspirations, mainly in the fields of teaching, nursing and secretarial work. Thus while

males aspired to the most highly rewarded and evaluated positions in society, female aspirations were mainly confined to occupations which society defined as suitable for them as members of the weaker sex, whose careers should be secondary to their functions as wives and mothers. In looking at the actual occupational achievement of respondents in the present survey, however, there is a narrowing difference between males and females, and even a partial reversal of their positions, for while the majority of the members of both sexes were found in clerical work, teaching, and other white collar employment, only males were found in the lower status manual occupations. Though this convergence produced greater uniformity between the sexes, it did in fact have a different significance for males and females: among males it reflected their inability to achieve their desired level of education, and hence the occupations of their first choice, while among females it reflected their lower original ambitions, and their greater success in achieving these. The greater divergence between occupational aspirations and achievements among males is typified by those who aspired to professional occupations, but only managed to become teachers or clerks, while the much smaller discrepancy between aspirations and achievements among females is typified by the clerical workers who had aspired to be typists, or secretaries.

As noted above, there was little variation between respondents of differing socio-economic background in terms of levels of occupational aspiration. This may be attributed to the homogenising effect of secondary education, as Clignet and Foster point out (Clignet and Foster, 1966, pp. 114, 137, 143-4): i.e.

there is more uniting such respondents as a result of their common experience at secondary school than dividing them as a result of their differing socio-economic backgrounds. There was a difference, on the other hand, between respondents from more privileged and less privileged backgrounds in the types of jobs which they actually obtained, with the former being slightly more successful than the latter. It should be noted, first, however, that the majority of respondents from all socio-economic groups were in white collar occupations, indicating that basically there were greater similarities than differences between them. But more detailed examination of the figures reveals that it was mainly Provincials who were unemployed and in lower status manual occupations, which suggests that their occupational opportunities were slightly more limited than those of Creoles. In addition, Creoles were more likely to be in clerical jobs, while Provincials formed a higher proportion of the teachers. Primary school teaching especially tends to be less well paid and of rather lower status than clerical work; and so this once again suggests that those from more privileged backgrounds are able to secure the more desirable jobs. These results are similar to those of Foster and Clignet in Ghana and the Ivory Coast; and they appear to confirm their conclusion that teaching is an important means of social mobility for those of lower socio-economic origins, in West Africa as in Europe (Foster, 1965, pp. 267. 282; Clignet and Foster, 1966, p. 131). The advantages possessed by those of higher socio-economic background are also manifest in a slight, though statistically insignificant, tendency for them to be more likely to declare them-

selves satisfied with their jobs than respondents of lower socio-economic backgrounds. Thus the results suggest that there is some tendency for those from more privileged backgrounds to be able to secure the most desirable occupations, and thus restrict opportunities for social mobility from below; but the extent of overlap between respondents of varying socio-economic backgrounds in their occupational achievements is perhaps of at least as great significance.

Perhaps the most remarkable and even surprising conclusion to emerge from the data in this chapter is that, apart from manual workers, most respondents appeared to be quite satisfied with the jobs that they had been able to obtain, and did not hope for or expect any change of job in the immediate future. I say that this is a surprising conclusion because, in view of the relatively modest occupational achievements of the respondents relative to their original occupational aspirations, one might have expected a much higher level of dissatisfaction with these jobs. From their expressions of satisfaction with the jobs that they had obtained, it appears that most respondents had made a remarkably successful adjustment to the thwarting of their original aspirations, and to their occupational positions generally. Similar findings, however, have been reported in studies of adaptation to work among school leavers in industrialized societies. Thus Sofer, in summarising Roberts' work on school leavers in Britain, reports the following:

> " ..... despite the fact that many school leavers fail to enter their chosen jobs, few are dissatisfied with the employment that they do obtain. Once these 'thwarted' school leavers are in employment few want to leave their

> jobs. They claim to be satisfied with their work and adjust their ambitions to the occupations they have actually entered" (Sofer, 1974, p. 51).

Of course it is necessary to explain this apparent paradox. Sofer writes of "powerful adaptive mechanisms [which] operate to reconcile persons with types of jobs that are not their first choice"; and among which he mentions the development of involvement and identification with the job actually obtained; the development of an occupational ideology; the effects of comparison with various reference groups; and the emergence of "privatization" (Sofer, 1974, pp. 42-44). The first three of these are probably also important among school leavers in Sierra Leone.

Many respondents mentioned that, although they had not originally wanted the type of job they actually obtained, they gradually became interested in it, and realised that it had certain advantages. It was noted that the nature of the work was the most commonly mentioned source of occupational satisfaction; and it seems probable that such involvement with their new jobs played an important part in reconciling respondents to their occupational positions. Some respondents also believed that their jobs were important for the country generally, or for socio-economic development in particular; and for some this may have constituted an occupational ideology. Teaching and manual work in particular were believed to contribute to socio-economic development; but though respondents often mentioned this in talking of these occupations in general, they seldom mentioned it as a source of occupational satisfaction in their own jobs.

It seems possible, however, that such an occupational ideology may have promoted their adaptation to their new jobs.

Levels of satisfaction may also be influenced by the choice of a reference group: relative to the majority of their illiterate countrymen, the respondents could feel that they had made some progress, while they could also note that many of their former schoolmates were in a similar or worse position to themselves. Such reference groups were particularly important in moulding the relatively low levels of expectations which respondents held on leaving school; and this appears to have been a crucial factor in reconciling them to jobs of much lower status than their original aspirations. It may be noted, however, that some respondents compared themselves with others of their schoolmates who had gone on to higher education; and such comparisons would tend to produce feelings of dissatisfaction. Thus a Mende tractor driver with S.L.S.T. said that he was dissatisfied with his job, especially when he compared himself with other boys from the same school who were still in educational institutions, or were in the workshop learning something.

"Privatization" - the total or partial transfer of ego-involvement from work to the leisure sphere - is not, however, a satisfactory solution to frustration or alienation at work in a developing country such as Sierra Leone. It is a suitable response only in an affluent society, where the range of incomes is narrow, and the worker is well enough off to have money to invest in his leisure time activities. It is hardly likely to appeal to a worker living on a subsistence wage; and especially to one

within the "mobility zone" who sees any opportunity of increasing his income many times through educational and occupational mobility.

In fact, paradoxically, the most important factor reconciling respondents to their present occupations may be the persistence of their beliefs in the possibility of getting out of them. This is the opposite reaction to privatization, for it involves intense commitment to the occupational sphere, and particularly to mobility within it; but it may have a similar adaptive function. When respondents said that they were satisfied with their present jobs, and did not want any others, they were often referring only to the short-run. Their meaning was that their present jobs were satisfactory as "stop-gaps" - or preferably as "stepping-stones" - and that they were not interested in any others of similar status. This did not necessarily mean, however, that they wished to remain in such jobs in the longer-run; and in fact in many cases it appears that continuing faith in the possibilities of obtaining better jobs in the long-run was a primary cause of satisfactory occupational adjustment to jobs held in the short-run. The long term occupational ambitions of the respondents will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4: Educational and occupational aspirations; and the evaluation of occupations.

The aim of this chapter is to develop two themes suggested in the last chapter. Firstly, it was suggested that part of the relatively successful adaptation of respondents to their occupational positions could be explained in terms of their continuing faith in their chances of achieving further educational and occupational mobility. No information was presented there on their future plans, however, and so it is necessary now to examine these plans; and to assess the extent to which they may explain the respondents' attitudes to their current occupational positions.

Secondly, it was suggested in the last chapter that the distribution of the respondents' occupational aspirations could not be explained only in terms of the specific factors which affected their choices in individual cases; but that it could best be explained in terms of the general evaluation of occupations in the society as a whole. No attempt was made there, however, to examine this general evaluation of occupations, even among the respondents themselves; and so this deficiency will now be rectified. In addition, an attempt will be made to determine what factors lie behind these evaluations.

Medium-term educational and occupational plans.

In the last chapter it was seen that the great majority of respondents had no immediate plans to change their occupations, but if we look at their longer term plans a rather different pic-

ture emerges. This can be seen from Tables 4.1 and 4.2, which show what the respondents expect to be doing five years after the time of their interviews. From these tables it can be seen that, although most respondents had no immediate plans to change their occupations, they did hope to improve their positions in the longer run. Although as many as 37% expected to be in the same type of job after five years, either in the same or a different establishment, as many as 33% expected to be in different jobs, and, very significantly, 30% expected to be in university, college, or some other form of full-time further education.[1] This high proportion of respondents who expected to further their education, together with others who hoped to improve their positions by changing their jobs, indicates that many respondents still had high mobility aspirations. Although for the present time they had accepted their current jobs as the best available, they still had hopes of obtaining better rewarded occupations, especially by upgrading their educational qualifications.

Clerical workers were particularly likely to expect to leave their jobs during the following five years: only 27% of them expected to be in the same type of job after five years, compared with 36% of manual workers and 56% of teachers. It also appears that relative to other respondents, clerical workers were particularly likely to expect promotion to a better job within the same establishment, or to undertake further education. Thus

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[1] A number of respondents also expected to have completed courses of further education before five years. Some respondents said that their position after five years would depend on their qualifications: if they obtained the necessary qualifications they would be in an institution of further education, but otherwise they would still be in the same job.

TABLE 4.1: Present occupation by position expected in five years (males only).

Occupation	Position expected after five years: Same job, same establishment	Same job, different establishment	Same job	Different job, same establishment	Different job, different establishment	Student	Don't know	Total[1]
Teaching	0	1	18	0	12	15	0	44
	(-)	(2%)	(41%)	(-)	(27%)	(34%)	(-)	
Clerical	18	3	2	18	17	34	9	90
	(20%)	(3%)	(2%)	(20%)	(19%)	(38%)	(10%)	
Manual	6	1	5	3	10	6	3	33
	(18%)	(3%)	(15%)	(9%)	(30%)	(18%)	(9%)	
Total	24	5	25	21	39	55	12	167
	(14%)	(3%)	(15%)	(13%)	(23%)	(33%)	(7%)	

[1] As more than one response was allowed, the percentages add up to more than 100%.

TABLE 4.2: Present occupation by position expected after five years (females only).

Occupation	Position expected after five years: Same job, same establishment	Same job, different establishment	Same job	Different job, same establishment	Different job, different establishment	Student	Don't know	Total[1]
Teaching	0 (-)	0 (-)	16 (84%)	0 (-)	2 (11%)	1 (5%)	0 (-)	19
Clerical	3 (13%)	1 (4%)	4 (17%)	2 (8%)	5 (21%)	7 (29%)	4 (17%)	24
Total	3 (7%)	1 (2%)	20 (47%)	2 (5%)	7 (16%)	8 (19%)	4 (9%)	43

[1] As multiple responses were allowed, the percentages add up to more than 100%.

TABLE 4.3: Sex and tribe by position expected after five years.

Sex and tribe	Position expected after five years: Same job, same establishment	Same job, different establishment	Same job	Different job, same establishment	Different job, different establishment	Student	Don't know	Total[1]
Creole males	8 (14%)	3 (5%)	5 (9%)	8 (14%)	16 (28%)	16 (28%)	2 (4%)	57
Provincial males	16 (15%)	2 (2%)	20 (18%)	13 (12%)	23 (21%)	40 (36%)	10 (9%)	110
Creole females	2 (6%)	1 (3%)	16 (46%)	2 (6%)	6 (17%)	7 (20%)	2 (6%)	35
Provincial females	1 (13%)	0 (-)	4 (50%)	0 (-)	1 (13%)	0 (-)	2 (25%)	8
Total	27 (13%)	6 (3%)	45 (21%)	23 (11%)	46 (22%)	63 (30%)	16 (8%)	210

1 As multiple responses were allowed, the percentages may add up to more than 100%.

one third of clerical workers expected to be studying after five years, compared with one quarter of teachers, and less than one fifth of manual workers. Although both teachers and clerks hoped to be able to improve their occupational positions, the majority of teachers hoped to be able to do so while remaining in the same basic occupation, while the majority of clerical workers expected to have to change their occupations, either through promotion or further education. It may also be noted that two fifths of manual workers expected to change their occupations, which again indicates their previously noted lack of occupational satisfaction.

As might be expected from previous evidence, females were more likely than males to expect job stability in the following five years: thus 56% said that they expected to be in the same type of job after five years, compared with only 32% of males. This would appear to indicate that they were reasonably satisfied with their current jobs. This expected stability was particularly associated with female teachers, 84% of whom expected to be still teachers after five years, and less with clerical workers, only 34% of whom expected to be in the same type of job after five years. Female workers thus reflect, in a more extreme form, the greater expected stability among teachers compared with clerical workers in the total sample.[1]

The more limited aspirations of female respondents are also shown in the fact that fewer of them expected to be in full-time education after five years - only one fifth of females ex-

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[1] Among males alone, the proportion expecting to be in the same type of job after five years fell to 43% among teachers, compared with 25% among clerical workers and 36% among manual workers.

pected this, compared with one third of males. Expectation of further education was also concentrated among female clerical workers, seven of the eight females expecting to be in further education after five years being in this category, again indicating the higher mobility aspirations among clerical workers than among teachers.[1] Thus females as a whole appear more likely than males to expect to stay in their current jobs for at least five years, which suggests that they are basically satisfied with these jobs, and have lower occupational aspirations; and this applies particularly to female teachers. One other fact which may be mentioned here is that only one female said that she expected to be a housewife after five years, indicating the high level of commitment to paid employment among educated young women in Sierra Leone. This point has already been remarked upon by Little (1966, pp. 143-158).

A more detailed examination of the types of job expected after five years, as in Tables 4.4 and 4.5, also reveals the rising level of longer term expectations.[2] Although well over half of the respondents still expected to be teachers, clerks, nurses or manual workers after five years, as many as 18% had raised their sights to professional, administrative, managerial, and ex-

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1 One result of the low level of expectation of further education among female teachers is to increase the variation in such expectations between teachers and white collar workers in the sample as a whole. If males alone are looked at, the variation is much reduced, 34% of male teachers expecting to be in further education after five years, compared with 38% of male white collar workers.

2 These tables include data on the unemployed, whereas Tables 4.1 and 4.2 only included data on respondents who were employed at the time they were interviewed.

TABLE 4.4: Present occupation by occupation expected after five years (males only).

Present occupation	Occupation expected after five years: Profess-ional	Admin., manag., exec.	Teach-ing	Nursing technical	Clerical	Manual	Farm-ing	Other	Student	D.K.[1]	Total[2]
Teaching	2 (5%)	4 (9%)	18 (41%)	2 (5%)	6 (14%)	0 (-)	1 (2%)	0 (-)	15 (34%)	1 (2%)	44
Clerical	15 (17%)	12 (13%)	0 (-)	4 (4%)	30 (33%)	4 (4%)	3 (3%)	6 (7%)	34 (38%)	4 (4%)	90
Manual	2 (6%)	0 (-)	3 (9%)	0 (-)	0 (-)	22 (67%)	2 (6%)	1 (3%)	6 (18%)	2 (6%)	33
Unemployed	6 (17%)	1 (3%)	4 (11%)	3 (9%)	5 (14%)	5 (14%)	2 (6%)	0 (-)	14 (40%)	4 (11%)	35
Total	25 (12%)	17 (8%)	25 (12%)	9 (4%)	41 (20%)	31 (15%)	8 (4%)	7 (3%)	69 (34%)	11 (5%)	202

[1] Don't know. [2] As multiple responses were allowed, the percentages add up to more than 100%.

TABLE 4.5: Present occupation by occupation expected after five years (females only).

Present occupation	Occupation expected after five years: Professional	Admin., manag., exec.	Teaching	Nursing, technical	Clerical	Manual	Farming	Other	Student	D.K.[1]	Total[2]
Teaching	0 (-)	0 (-)	16 (84%)	0 (-)	2 (11%)			0 (-)	1 (5%)	0 (-)	19
Clerical	0 (-)	1 (4%)	0 (-)	1 (4%)	14 (58%)			1 (4%)	7 (29%)	2 (8%)	24
Unemployed	1 (20%)	0 (-)	1 (20%)	0 (-)	2 (40%)			0 (-)	1 (20%)	0 (-)	5
Total	1 (2%)	1 (2%)	17 (35%)	1 (2%)	18 (38%)			1 (2%)	9 (19%)	2 (4%)	48

[1] Don't know. [2] As multiple responses were allowed, the percentages may add up to more than 100%.

TABLE 4.6: Sex and tribe by occupation expected after five years.

Sex and tribe	Occupation expected after five years: Profess-ional	Admin., manag., exec.	Teach-ing	Nursing, technical	Clerical	Manual	Farm-ing	Other	Student	D.K.[1]	Total[2]
Creole males	12 (20%)	13 (22%)	4 (7%)	2 (3%)	16 (27%)	3 (5%)	1 (2%)	3 (5%)	16 (27%)	1 (2%)	60
Provincial males	13 (9%)	4 (3%)	21 (15%)	7 (5%)	25 (18%)	28 (20%)	7 (5%)	4 (3%)	53 (37%)	10 (7%)	142
Creole females	1 (3%)	1 (3%)	13 (33%)	1 (3%)	15 (38%)	0 (-)	0 (-)	0 (-)	9 (23%)	2 (5%)	40
Provincial females	0 (-)	0 (-)	4 (50%)	0 (-)	3 (38%)	0 (-)	0 (-)	1 (13%)	0 (-)	0 (-)	8
Total	26 (10%)	18 (7%)	42 (17%)	10 (4%)	59 (24%)	31 (12%)	8 (3%)	8 (3%)	78 (31%)	13 (5%)	250

[1] Don't know. [2] As multiple responses were allowed, the percentages may add up to more than 100%.

ecutive employment, this being made up of 20% of males and 4% of females. Only a handful of respondents, however, were aspiring to qualify within the next five years in such old-established professions as medicine (2), dentistry (1), veterinary surgery (1) or architecture (2). Most respondents recognised that it would take them longer than five years to train in such professions; and, as will be seen below, most respondents who had such ambitions expected to be students after five years. The majority of respondents expecting to enter a profession within five years mentioned engineering (11) and accountancy (9).[1] To many people in Sierra Leone such occupational terms cover jobs with widely differing levels of qualification and prestige - for example, the term engineer may refer to an unqualified motor mechanic in a wayside garage, or to a university graduate - and in addition these professions may be entered by a lengthy process of accumulating qualifications at ever rising levels, which makes it difficult to identify the exact stage at which professional status is reached. Thus it seems possible that when respondents stated that they expected to be in such occupations after five years, that they meant either one of the lower level occupations, or that they expected to be in the process of qualifying for one of the higher ones. A number of respondents did mention, however, that they hoped to be fully qualified after five years, and the majority probably hoped to rise as high as possible in the profession of their choice. It may be noted that male clerical workers were

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1 The majority (10/11) of engineering choices were made by Provincials, while the majority of accountancy choices (6/9) were made by Creoles.

particularly likely to have high levels of expectation, followed by the unemployed.

Among respondents who expected to be still in the same general type of employment after five years, many stated that they hoped to rise to a higher grade. For example, the majority of female clerical workers hoped to qualify as secretaries, while a number of manual workers hoped to become instructors in their specialities. Less ambitious manual workers hoped to become fully qualified in their trade; and some of those who had been forced out of their trade into semi-skilled machine operation hoped to be able to find jobs more in line with the training that they had received.

There also appears to be a slight variation between Creoles and Provincials in their expected situation after five years, as can be seen from Table 4.6. Thus a higher proportion of Creoles than Provincials expect to be in high status jobs after five years, 27% of Creoles expecting to have professional, administrative, managerial and executive employment within five years, compared with only 11% of Provincials. Creole males were particularly likely to expect such employment, with over two fifths of them having such expectations. A higher proportion of Creoles expected to be in clerical employment after five years, and a higher proportion of Provincials expected to be in manual employment, which is consistent with their present distribution in the occupational structure. In fact most of the respondents who expected teaching, clerical work or manual work in five years time were already in such occupations when interviewed.

It does appear that a higher proportion of Provincials than of Creoles expected to be engaged in full-time studies after five years, over a third of the former expecting this compared with only one quarter of the latter. The difference is slight, however, and probably merely the inverse of the fact that a higher proportion of Creoles than Provincials expected to have reached high status occupations. The overall impression is of rather small differences between Creoles and Provincials in this respect. One interesting variation to emerge, however, is that while almost one quarter of Creole females expected to be in full time education after five years - a figure which almost equals that of Creole males - no Provincial females expected this.

Long-term educational ambitions.

If respondents' ambitions for further education are examined in detail, the extent of their mobility aspirations become even more clear. Practically all respondents stated that they wished to have some form of further education; and as many as half of the respondents indicated that they wished to go to university. As might be expected, the proportion of males hoping to go to university is much higher than that of females, with three fifths of the former expressing this ambition, compared with only one tenth of the latter. The educational aspirations of females were concentrated in the more vocational fields, such as teacher training, in which one quarter were interested, and secretarial training, in which over one third were interested. It appears that most females intended to continue in their present line of

TABLE 4.7: Present occupation by educational plans: institutions (males only).

Present occupation	Educational plans: institutions							
	University	Teacher training college	Technical college	Secretarial college	Other	None	Don't know	Total[1]
Teaching	36 (82%)	6 (14%)	0 (-)	0 (-)	2 (5%)	0 (-)	0 (-)	44
Clerical	54 (60%)	1 (1%)	2 (2%)	2 (2%)	30 (33%)	2 (2%)	4 (4%)	90
Manual	8 (24%)	1 (3%)	19 (58%)	0 (-)	9 (27%)	0 (-)	2 (6%)	33
Unemployed	25 (71%)	4 (11%)	2 (6%)	0 (-)	5 (14%)	4 (11%)	0 (-)	35
Total	123 (61%)	12 (6%)	23 (11%)	2 (1%)	46 (23%)	6 (3%)	6 (3%)	202

[1] As multiple responses were allowed, the percentages may add up to more than 100%.

TABLE 4.8: Present occupation by educational plans: institutions (females only).

Present occupation	Educational plans: institutions							
	University	Teacher training college	Technical college	Secretarial college	Other	None	Don't know	Total[1]
Teaching	1 (5%)	11 (58%)	0 (-)	2 (11%)	3 (16%)	3 (16%)	0 (-)	19
Clerical	2 (8%)	0 (-)	1 (4%)	15 (63%)	2 (8%)	2 (8%)	2 (8%)	24
Unemployed	2 (40%)	1 (20%)	0 (-)	0 (-)	0 (-)	2 (40%)	0 (-)	5
Total	5 (10%)	12 (25%)	1 (2%)	17 (35%)	5 (10%)	7 (15%)	2 (4%)	48

1 As multiple responses were allowed, the percentages may add up to more than 100%.

TABLE 4.9: Sex and tribe by educational plans: institutions.

Sex and tribe	Educational plans: institutions							
	University	Teacher training college	Technical college	Secretarial college	Other	None	Don't know	Total[1]
Creole males	31 (52%)	1 (2%)	3 (5%)	2 (3%)	25 (42%)	0 (-)	2 (3%)	60
Provincial males	92 (65%)	11 (8%)	20 (14%)	0 (-)	21 (15%)	6 (4%)	4 (3%)	142
Creole females	5 (13%)	10 (25%)	0 (-)	16 (40%)	4 (10%)	3 (8%)	2 (5%)	40
Provincial females	0 (-)	2 (25%)	1 (13%)	1 (13%)	1 (13%)	4 (50%)	0 (-)	8
Total	128 (51%)	24 (10%)	24 (10%)	19 (8%)	51 (20%)	13 (5%)	8 (3%)	250

[1] As multiple responses were allowed, the percentages may add up to more than 100%.

work, and most of those hoping for teacher training were already teachers, while most of those hoping for secretarial training were clerical workers.

The proportion of males interested in teacher training or secretarial training was very small. Those males who did wish to continue as teachers were more likely to wish to improve their educational qualifications by obtaining a university degree, either in academic subjects or in education itself; and such aspirations tended to be concentrated among males who were already teachers. The proportion of males hoping to go to university was particularly high among teachers and the unemployed, while among manual workers the proportion falls to only one quarter. It seems likely that the latter recognise that their lower educational qualifications do not qualify them for university entrance; and also they feel that their educational interests can best be pursued in technical institutions. Almost three fifths of them hoped to attend such an institution in the future. Almost a quarter of male respondents hoped to further their education in other ways: these are mainly accounted for by clerks and manual workers who hoped to improve their education while working at the same time.

Apart from looking at the institutions which they hoped to attend, it is also possible to examine respondents' educational ambitions in terms of the subjects which they hoped to study. Information on this is provided in Table 4.10, broken down by sex. From this it can be seen that the main academic fields of the Arts, the Sciences and the Social Sciences each attracted bet-

TABLE 4.10: Educational plans (subjects) by sex.

	Males		Females		Total	
Arts	19	(9%)	1	(2%)	20	(8%)
Science	16	(8%)	0	(-)	16	(6%)
Social Science	21	(10%)	0	(-)	21	(8%)
Medicine, law, dentistry, veterinary	23	(11%)	3	(6%)	26	(10%)
Teacher training, education	19	(9%)	13	(27%)	32	(13%)
Technical	45	(22%)	0	(-)	45	(18%)
Secretarial	2	(1%)	19	(40%)	21	(8%)
Accounting, commerce, administration	38	(19%)	1	(2%)	39	(16%)
Other	29	(14%)	4	(8%)	33	(13%)
None, don't know	5	(2%)	8	(17%)	13	(5%)
Total[1]	202		48		250	

[1] As multiple responses were allowed, the percentages may add up to more than 100%.

ween 5% and 10% of the respondents.[1] Much more prominent, however, are educational ambitions directly related to vocational aspirations, as in the fields of the professions, teaching, technical and secretarial work and accountancy. Ten percent of res-

[1] Economics accounted for 17 of the 21 choices for social science, probably stimulated by the existence of a Faculty of Economic and Social Studies at F.B.C., and beliefs in job opportunities for economists. Demand for social science places is generally also encouraged by their less specific entrance requirements.

pondents, mainly males, hoped to pursue courses in the fields of medicine, law, dentistry, and veterinary medicine; and in this category medicine predominated, accounting for 14 of the 26 choices. Teacher training and other studies in education were favoured by 13% of respondents: a higher proportion of females was found in this category, and they were mainly interested in attending teacher training college, while most males hoped to take a degree in education at university. About one fifth of respondents, all males, hoped for some further technical education, ranging from training in manual skills to university training in engineering. About two fifths of female respondents hoped to pursue courses in secretarial studies, while about one fifth of males hoped for further education in the fields of accountancy, commerce and public administration, with accountancy constituting 23 of the 39 choices in this category. The final residual categories include respondents who wished to further their education in such fields as agriculture (8), architecture (5) and librarianship (3).[1] Respondents expected to study academic subjects and the professions mainly at university; education at university, particularly in the case of males, or training college, particularly in the case of females; technical subjects at either the university or technical college; commerce and accountancy at either the university or privately; and secretarial studies at secretarial college.

Two points should be particularly noted which emerge from

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[1] Other choices were two each for journalism and nursing studies; and one each for community development, criminology, navigation, aviation and international trade.

these educational aspirations. Firstly, the majority of them are of a mainly vocational character - they lead to jobs in the professions, teaching, business and industry. Secondly, the form of vocational education desired was usually related to the occupations in which the respondents were already employed: thus teachers were particularly likely to wish for further education in the field of education; manual workers to wish for technical education; male white collar workers to wish to study accountancy and commerce; and female white collar workers to pursue secretarial courses. The general impression which one obtains is that, though many respondents have retained high educational and occupational aspirations, they have often modified these to bring them into line with their current field of employment.

Four small but interesting exceptions to this may be mentioned. Firstly, as there are no equivalent fields to the professions in the sample,[1] they draw their aspirants from other categories, particularly from among white collar workers (15/26), but also from among teachers (5/26), and the unemployed (6/26); which represents 13%, 8% and 15% respectively of respondents in these categories. No manual workers, on the other hand, aspired to these traditional professions, their professional aspirations being confined to engineering.

Secondly, not only manual workers hoped to further their education in the technical field, but also respondents from other

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[1] The single exception to this is perhaps the one nurse in the sample, who is in the same medical field as doctors; and in fact had aspirations to become a doctor.

categories: thus 9% (4/44) of male teachers, 8% (7/90) of male clerical workers, and 17% (6/35) of unemployed males hoped for further education in the technical field. In contrast to manual workers, many of whom would have been satisfied with courses directly related to their trades, particularly in technical institutes, the great majority of these"outsiders"wished to study various kinds of engineering at university.

Thirdly, a significant proportion of manual workers (5/33) were interested in agricultural education, with a view to entering the agricultural field. They constituted over three fifths (5/8) of all respondents interested in further education in agriculture, which suggests that Provincial manual workers might be a useful starting point in any attempt to induce school leavers to return to the land.[1]

Finally, a significant proportion of teachers are interested in opportunities for further education outside the teaching field,[2] but only about 4% (8/187) of non-teachers - most of them (6/8) unemployed - were interested in educational studies. This seems to support earlier evidence that there is likely to be a drift away from teaching.

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1 All 8 respondents desiring agricultural education were Provincials.

2 It is difficult to calculate the exact proportion of respondents who hoped to study at university with the aim of teaching afterwards, for only a proportion of those studying academic subjects will wish to become teachers. If it is assumed that all teachers in the sample who plan to study academic subjects intend to remain as teachers while none of those planning to study the social sciences intend to do so, then only about half of the teachers in the sample intend to remain as teachers. A clearer picture of the occupational intentions of teachers will be obtained in the next section.

Respondents were also asked to indicate where they expected to continue their education; and they were about equally divided between those who hoped to continue their education in Sierra Leone, and those who hoped to go overseas, though many gave the impression that they would be happy to continue their education anywhere. Most of those hoping to study academic subjects at university,or education at either university or teacher training college, expected to do so in Sierra Leone; most of those hoping to pursue professional or secretarial training expected to do so overseas; while those who hoped to study technical subjects, accountancy, etc. were divided between those who thought that they would do so in Sierra Leone, and those who were hoping to go overseas. The high proportion wishing to go overseas to study should not be attributed solely to the search for the prestige of the "been-to", or to delusions about the change in circumstances which overseas study may bring, though these certainly play some part. Some respondents recognised that their chosen fields of study, such as medicine, aviation, navigation or criminology, could not be pursued in Sierra Leone. Others, such as manual workers, realised that they had very little chance of further education in Sierra Leone, or that they would only receive inferior training in their chosen fields. A number of those who appeared to be poorly qualified in terms of normal expectations in Western societies, which are also usually accepted in Sierra Leone, had hopes of winning a scholarship from Russia or some other Eastern European country. West Germany was seen by many as the best centre for technical studies; and both West Germany and the United States

were believed to offer opportunities for the student to partly finance his own education through part-time employment. Some respondents already had relatives studying or working overseas, and hoped that they would be able to help finance their passage and education, or at least to find them work.

Prestige factors may have played a more important role in the aspirations of females to study overseas, particularly in the fields of secretarial training and nursing, though they also recognised the superiority in many cases of overseas training, and the greater opportunities it would offer for promotion when they returned to Sierra Leone.[1] In addition, many of the female respondents came from families of higher than average socio-economic status which already had many contacts overseas, particularly in Britain; and for them overseas study was a normal expectation.[2] This would also apply to males from such high status homes; and it has already been seen in Chapter 2 that many of the siblings of such respondents had travelled outside Sierra Leone to study. It would seem from these data that there is a good case for opening a first class secretarial college in Freetown, with the dual aim of decreasing this educational emigration, and thus saving foreign exchange, and of increasing the supply of well-trained secretaries.

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1 Both respondents in the sample who said that they wished to study nursing specified that they only wished to do so overseas; and in addition a number of other female respondents said that they would have liked to do nursing when they left school if they could have gone overseas to train. Sixteen of the 21 respondents who wanted secretarial training said that they wished to do it overseas.

2 At least three female respondents had already travelled to Britain; but no such case was found among male respondents.

It seems probable that many of these educational ambitions are unrealistic - thus it is unlikely that about half of the respondents will attend university or study overseas - and it is possible that even the respondents recognise them as fantasy aspirations. To check this, they were asked how good they thought their chances were of continuing with their education as planned. It seems that on the whole the respondents thought that they had a rather good chance of fulfilling their educational ambitions, for almost two thirds thought that they had a good or very good chance of being successful, compared with only about one fifth who did not think that they had a good chance. About one fifth also qualified their answers, saying that their opportunities depended on their qualifications, financial considerations, and so on.[1] Females were particularly likely to think that they had a good chance of achieving their educational ambitions, 77% of them saying this, compared with 63% of males. In occupational terms, clerical workers seemed to think that they had the best chance of fulfilling their occupational ambitions, 77% of them giving optimistic answers,[2] compared with 68% of teachers and only 42% of manual workers. In fact manual workers are clearly differentiated from both clerical workers and teachers in the extent of their pessimism: there was little variation between teachers and other white collar workers, about 16% in each case saying that they had a poor chance of continuing with their education, while over half the manual workers stated

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[1] Of respondents giving conditional replies, 29 had given essentially positive replies and 9 had given essentially negative replies; and so they were also recorded as having said that they had a good chance or not a good chance respectively. The remain-

TABLE 4.11: Occupation by assessed chances of achieving educational plans (males only).

Occupation	Good	Not good	Conditional	Don't know	Total
Teaching	30 (68%)	9 (20%)	12 (27%)	2 (5%)	44
Clerical	66 (73%)	18 (20%)	13 (14%)	1 (1%)	90
Manual	14 (42%)	17 (52%)	1 (3%)	1 (3%)	33
Unemployed	17 (49%)	10 (29%)	15 (43%)	2 (6%)	35
Total	127 (63%)	54 (27%)	41 (20%)	6 (3%)	202

TABLE 4.12: Occupation by assessed chances of achieving educational plans (females only).

Occupation	Good	Not good	Conditional	Don't know	Total
Teaching	13 (68%)	1 (5%)	2 (11%)	5 (26%)	19
Clerical	22 (92%)	1 (4%)	7 (29%)	1 (4%)	24
Unemployed	2 (40%)	0 (-)	0 (-)	3 (60%)	5
Total	37 (77%)	2 (4%)	9 (19%)	9 (19%)	48

this. Similarly, only about half of the unemployed felt that they had a good chance of continuing their education; and a particularly high proportion gave qualified answers, which probably reflects their state of uncertainty on just leaving school.

Although the absolute level of this optimism may seem rather excessive, the relative levels of optimism in different groups does not seem unrealistic. The higher levels of optimism among females may be related to their higher socio-economic backgrounds, which provide them with more resources to use in pursuing further education, and also to their rather lower levels of educational aspirations, which are mainly in the fields of education and secretarial training. The lower expectations of manual workers are also fairly realistic in that their lower educational base-line provides them with a less firm springboard from which to move on to higher education.

Insofar as respondents expected to encounter difficulties in their quest for further education, finance was believed to be the main problem, being mentioned by 55% (138/250) of all respondents, while only 12% (31/250) mentioned lack of qualifications or academic success as posing serious problems.[1] This is quite

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ing 12 answers were more evenly balanced; and so were recorded as conditional replies only.

2 This figure is particularly high among female white collar workers, 92% of whom thought they had a good chance of continuing their education as planned, compared with only 73% of male white collar workers. Among teachers, 68% of both sexes thought that they had a good chance, though males were more likely to say that they did not have a good chance.

1 Only 38% (18/48) of females compared with 59% (120/202) of males mentioned finance as a possible difficulty in continuing

consistent with the previously mentioned tendency for young Sierra Leoneans to attribute their lack of educational progress to financial rather than academic difficulties. It will be suggested in the conclusions of this chapter that this may have important consequences for respondents' educational and occupational aspirations, for they are able to preserve the belief that if only they could acquire adequate financing, they would be able to scale the highest rungs of the educational and occupational ladder.

Finally we may examine the extent to which educational aspirations and expectations are related to socio-economic background, particularly as measured in terms of tribe. It appears the Provincials were rather more likely than Creoles to hope to attend university, 61% of Provincials having this ambition, compared with only 36% of Creoles. Of course part of the lower aspirations of Creoles may be accounted for by the lower aspirations of females, who make up a higher proportion of the Creoles in the sample than of the Provincials; but even among males alone, the aspirations for university education are slightly higher among Provincials than among Creoles, 65% of Provincial males hoping to attend university, compared with 52% of Creole males. Provincial males are also more likely than Creole males to aspire

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with their education, which supports the idea suggested above that the higher socio-economic backgrounds of females give them a better chance of continuing with their education. Teachers were also slightly less likely than other respondents to see finance as a difficulty in continuing with their education, which is consistent with the fact that those who wished to attend teacher training college would be financed by the government. Manual workers were more likely than others to mention finance as a problem in continuing with their education.

to further education in technical institutions and teacher training colleges, accounting for 89% of the male choices in these institutions. Creole males, on the other hand, are more likely to hope for other kinds of further education. As can be seen from Table 4.9, 42% of male Creoles hoped for other forms of further education, compared with only 15% of male Provincials. It should be noted, however, that in terms of absolute numbers, Provincials are almost as numerous as Creoles in this category. Creole choices were particularly concentrated in the fields of accountancy and commerce, while Provincials monopolised choices for agriculture, and also selected accountancy and commerce in significant numbers.

Among females, Creoles accounted for nine tenths of the choices for teacher training and secretarial training. In particular it seems unlikely that many Provincial females would aspire to secretarial training in Britain as so many of the Creole females do. The number of Provincial females in the sample is too small, however, to allow significant conclusions to be drawn; but it may be mentioned that four out of the eight Provincial females in the sample had no definite plans for further education, which contrasts with all other groups in the sample.

From this discussion of the variations in educational aspirations between Creoles and Provincials it may be concluded that, though the variations are not large, there is a significant, though not necessarily consistent, variation. A higher proportion of Provincials than Creoles aspire to enter university, but Provincial males are also found in higher proportions among

those hoping to enter lower-ranking educational institutions, such as teacher training colleges, and technical institutes. Creoles, on the other hand, are found to be more likely than Provincials to hope for middle-level professional training in such fields as accountancy and commerce. Such white collar fields have been a traditional area of Creole activity, and this may partly account for the higher proportion of Creoles who choose such occupations. It is also possible that the Creoles' greater experience of the modern economy makes them more realistic about the opportunities actually available to them. In addition it is possible that as many Creoles come from relatively privileged socio-economic backgrounds, and have many siblings with university education, they are less able to blame their own lack of academic progress on financial factors; and thus they must come to terms sooner than those from less privileged backgrounds with their inability to proceed to university. Their relatively higher concentration in clerical employment compared with the relatively higher concentration of Provincials in teaching, may also encourage Creoles to be interested in accountancy and commerce.

Inversely, the higher proportion of Provincials in teaching, together with their inability to blame their lack of academic progress on their financial background, help to explain their slightly greater preference for university education.[1] The high-

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[1] Clignet and Foster also note that those from homes of lower socio-economic status put relatively more emphasis on the financial problems of continuing with their education and relatively less emphasis on the academic constraints than those from homes of higher socio-economic status. Of course this assessment may

er proportion of Provincials choosing teacher training colleges and technical institutes may also be explained in terms of present qualifications and occupations, and their perceptions of the opportunities open to them in view of these. Among females, aspirations for further education are concentrated in the traditional female fields of teacher training and secretarial training; and even these aspirations are concentrated mainly among Creole females.

It appears that Creoles are considerably more optimistic in believing that they can achieve their educational aspirations. Thus 81% of Creoles think that they have a good or very good chance of obtaining the further education that they desire, compared with only 57% of Provincials. Part of this variation is due to the greater optimism of females, who form a higher proportion of the Creoles in the sample than of the Provincials; but even looking at males alone, it appears that 77% of the Creole males thought that they had a good or very good chance of continuing their education compared with only 57% of Provincial males. The rather pessimistic manual workers among the Provincials are partly responsible for this difference; but even Provincial teachers and white collar workers appear less optimistic than their Creole counterparts. The rather lower aspirations of Creoles may partly account for this variation, as may differences of socio-economic background. It seems that, other things being equal, those from lower socio-economic backgrounds envis-

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be quite consistent with reality; but the point here is that those from less privileged homes may allow their financial difficulties to blind them to real academic constraints within the educational system. See Clignet and Foster, (1966, pp. 121-2).

age more difficulty in proceeding with their education than those from more privileged backgrounds, probably because they recognise that they will have greater difficulty in obtaining the necessary financial backing; but, taking everything into consideration, the variations are not very large, and a majority of all groups feel that they have a good or very good chance of continuing with their education.

Long-term occupational ambitions.

We may now move on to look at the distribution of jobs which respondents expected to hold 20 years after the time they were interviewed. Although the question was not put in the form of a question about fantasy aspirations, there seems little doubt that the long-term perspective will tend to add an element of fantasy to the respondents' replies. Many of them expressed uncertainty about their position after 20 years, some of them saying that it would depend on their educational qualifications, or on "God's will". A glance at Tables 4.13 and 4.14, however, shows that many respondents, and particularly male respondents, have rapidly rising levels of long-term aspirations. Among male respondents it appears that only about one quarter expect to be still in the teaching, nursing, clerical or manual fields after 20 years. Thus only about one third of teachers and manual workers expect to be still in the same field after 20 years, but the position is even more extreme among clerical workers: only five males in the total sample expect to be in the clerical field after 20 years, and none of these expected to be a general clerk.

TABLE 4.13: Present occupation by occupation expected after 20 years (males only).

Present occupation	Occupation expected after 20 years: Political	Professional	Administrative	Business	Teaching	Nursing, technical	Clerical	Manual	Farming	Other	D.K.	Total[1]
Teaching	6 (14%)	10 (23%)	2 (5%)	10 (23%)	14 (32%)	2 (5%)	1 (2%)	1 (2%)	1 (2%)	4 (9%)	4 (9%)	44
Clerical	5 (6%)	32 (36%)	11 (12%)	30 (33%)	2 (2%)	2 (2%)	4 (4%)	1 (1%)	5 (6%)	4 (4%)	12 (13%)	90
Manual	0 (-)	6 (18%)	0 (-)	4 (12%)	3 (9%)	0 (-)	0 (-)	12 (36%)	6 (18%)	2 (6%)	2 (6%)	33
Unemployed	3 (9%)	15 (43%)	4 (11%)	4 (11%)	4 (11%)	2 (6%)	0 (-)	4 (11%)	1 (3%)	1 (3%)	1 (3%)	35
Total	14 (7%)	63 (31%)	17 (8%)	48 (24%)	23 (11%)	6 (3%)	5 (2%)	18 (9%)	13 (6%)	11 (5%)	19 (9%)	202

1 As multiple responses were allowed, the percentages may add up to more than 100%.

TABLE 4.14: Present occupation by occupation expected after 20 years (females only)

Present occupation	Occupation expected after 20 years: Political	Professional	Administrative	Business	Teaching	Nursing	Clerical	Manual	Farming	Other	D.K.	Total[1]
Teaching		2 (11%)		2 (11%)	13 (68%)	0 (-)	2 (11%)			1 (5%)	1 (5%)	19
Clerical		1 (4%)		4 (17%)	2 (8%)	1 (4%)	8 (33%)			6 (25%)	2 (8%)	24
Unemployed		0 (-)		0 (-)	0 (-)	1 (20%)	2 (40%)			0 (-)	2 (40%)	5
Total		3 (6%)		6 (13%)	15 (31%)	2 (4%)	12 (25%)			7 (15%)	5 (10%)	48

[1] As multiple responses were allowed, the percentages may add up to more than 100%.

TABLE 4.15: Sex and tribe by occupation expected after 20 years.

Sex and tribe	Occupation expected after 20 years											Total[1]
	Political	Professional	Administrative	Business	Teaching	Nursing, technical	Clerical	Manual	Farming	Other	Don't know	
Creole males	0 (-)	20 (33%)	8 (13%)	21 (35%)	3 (5%)	2 (3%)	0 (-)	2 (3%)	1 (2%)	4 (7%)	7 (12%)	60
Provincial males	14 (10%)	43 (30%)	9 (6%)	27 (19%)	20 (14%)	4 (3%)	5 (4%)	16 (11%)	12 (8%)	7 (5%)	12 (8%)	142
Creole females	0 (-)	3 (8%)	0 (-)	5 (13%)	13 (33%)	2 (5%)	11 (28%)	0 (-)	0 (-)	5 (13%)	3 (8%)	40
Provincial females	0 (-)	0 (-)	0 (-)	1 (13%)	2 (25%)	0 (-)	1 (13%)	0 (-)	0 (-)	2 (25%)	2 (25%)	8
Total	14 (6%)	66 (26%)	17 (7%)	54 (22%)	38 (15%)	8 (3%)	17 (7%)	18 (7%)	13 (5%)	18 (7%)	24 (10%)	250

1 As multiple responses were allowed, the responses may add up to more than 100%.

It is clear that clerical work is not considered a suitable long-term career by secondary school leavers in Sierra Leone.[1] The teachers who intend to stay in the profession usually expect that it will provide them with an adequate career ladder through further education and promotion; while the manual workers expecting to stay in the same type of job either have a commitment to manual work, or can see no alternative.

The two major fields which the respondents expect to enter are the professions and business, accounting respectively for 31% and 24% of male choices. As might be expected from their low desire to remain in their current occupations, a particularly high proportion of clerical workers hoped to enter these occupations: thus 36% of clerical workers hoped to enter a profession, compared with 23% of teachers, 18% of manual workers and 43% of the unemployed; and 33% of clerical workers hoped to enter business, compared with 23% of teachers, 12% of manual workers and 11% of the unemployed. Manual workers were particularly unlikely to believe that they had a chance of entering a profession; and most of their professional choices were for "engineering", which may have been thought of at a sub-professional level. In addition they were the only occupational group to prefer farming to business: the fact that almost a fifth of manual workers hoped to be farmers after 20 years supports the suggestion made above that they may in the future be a valuable source of educated recruits to farming. Politics and administration were other areas of interest among teachers, white collar workers and the unemployed.

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[1] This once again confirms Foster's refutation of the fallacy that school leavers wish clerical jobs.

The high proportion of professional ambitions may not be surprising in view of the respondents' original occupational aspirations, though the tenacity of these ambitions, despite many frustrations, is perhaps remarkable. The popularity of business is perhaps more surprising, especially in view of the facts that, firstly, 83% (40/48) of these choices were made by respondents who wished to go into business on their own account rather than as business managers; secondly, there were very few such choices (3) in respondents' original occupational aspirations; and thirdly, Clignet and Foster found very little interest in such business careers in their survey of secondary school students in Ivory Coast (Clignet and Foster, 1966, pp. 127-129; ch. 7). The reason for these contradictory results may be sought in the progress of the respondents' careers - both in terms of their present stage, and the stage at which they expected to enter business. Obviously the majority of respondents who now wished to enter business had not originally aspired to this as their career. They had come to realise in the course of time that their original ambitions were no longer feasible; and that the potential for gaining promotion or otherwise making money in their present occupations was strictly limited. In addition, some of those in white collar employment may have believed that their occupational experience had given them various skills and contacts which would be valuable if they went into business on their own account. It may also be noted that most of those who wished to start a business did not intend to do so immediately: they usually intended to continue working in their

present job for a number of years. They hoped in this time to accumulate sufficient capital; and then they might start a part-time business, only gradually shifting their energies and dependence from their present occupations to their new businesses. Infact for some the proposed businesses may have been seen mainly as ventures to support and occupy them when they were in a state of semi-retirement.

Although there is no proof of it at this stage, it seems possible that respondents were influenced in their desire to start businesses by the idea that self-employment is superior to employment by another person. Thus a number of respondents referred to the advantages of being a "private man" or an "independent man". They may have felt that though it was alright for a young man to be employed, it was more suitable for an older person, who traditionally required greater respect, to be self-employed. They may have envisaged themselves as the head of a compound, living in a state of semi-retirement, and being supported either by the earnings of a small or medium-sized business, or by occasional help from younger relatives who were in employment. If this is so, then it would be a sign of traditional ideas re-asserting themselves. The attractions of becoming an "independent man" may also play a part in forming the aspirations of those who wish to enter politics and agriculture.

A very different picture emerges when we examine the aspirations of female respondents for 20 years in the future, for they appear to expect very little change in their position compared with males, which is entirely consistent with the previous-

ly mentioned tendency for females to have more limited occupational aspirations than males. Only 6% of females wished to enter the professions, and only 13% wished to start a business, while three fifths expected to remain in the fields of teaching, nursing and clerical work. It may be noted, however, that they usually expected modest promotions in these fields, the majority of clerical workers, for example, expecting to become trained secretaries. The majority of the remainder expected to be retired after 20 years, living as housewives; and they may be identified with those who said that they expected to be doing business, for most of these were only thinking of "petty trade", which is practised on a part-time basis by most "unemployed" women in Sierra Leone. It is perhaps surprising that the proportion of females who expected to be retired after 20 years was quite low. This expectation of continuing in employment may be attributed partly to a desire to justify the expense of their education; partly to the high cost of living in urban areas; partly to the availability of relatives and housemaids to look after children and do other household chores; and partly to the insecurity of marriage, with women fearing that their husbands may die, desert them, or otherwise fail to support them.

It seems possible that socio-economic origins will have a greater effect on long-run aspirations than it had on original aspirations, as respondents from lower status homes come to encounter greater difficulties in achieving their educational and occupational ambitions. Examination of Table 4.15 which separates the long-term ambitions of Creoles and Provincials does re-

veal some variations, though these are fairly modest. Thus Creoles appear more likely than Provincials to aspire to enter business, or obtain administrative positions in the civil service, while Provincials were more interested than Creoles in politics, teaching, manual work and farming. In the case of politics, Provincials have a monopoly of choices, which may be explained in terms of their present ascendancy in the political sphere due to their overwhelming majority in terms of votes; and it may also be noted that three of the prospective politicians expected to become paramount chiefs. The stronger preference for administration among Creoles probably results from their tradition of employment in this field. The higher proportion of Provincials expecting to be in teaching and manual work after 20 years may suggest that they have lower levels of ambition than Creoles, but it also results from the higher proportion of Provincials already in such positions; while the higher proportion interested in farming presumably stems from their rural background.

The most interesting variation, however, is that in the proportion of choices to enter business, 35% of Creole males hoping to enter business, compared with only 19% of Provincial males. This appears consistent with the conclusions of Clignet and Foster that the most enculturated section of the population will be most likely to be interested in entering business (Clignet and Foster, 1966, pp. 152-158). They appear to suggest that this is because these more enculturated individuals have a greater awareness of the opening up of new opportunities in

the commercial and industrial fields. In the present case, however, the interpretation may be rather different. It seems quite probable that Creoles expressed more interested in business not because of any modernising influence, but, on the contrary, because they were influenced by the tradition of business and trade in the Creole section of the community. Such an explanation would be consistent with the already mentioned influence of traditional ideas on the desirability of self-employment as a factor encouraging business activity. In addition, the greater experience of Creoles in white collar employment, particularly in the commercial field, may have fostered their interest in business as a suitable career.

We may finally examine the professions chosen by respondents, and their distribution between socio-economic groups, information on which is provided in Table 4.16. From this it can be seen that medicine remains the most popular profession, followed closely by engineering and accountancy, with law and a mixed group of academically and scientifically based professions together with architecture trailing some way behind. Compared with original professional aspirations, as shown in Table 3.3, however, it appears that, though medicine has lost much of its original ascendancy, it does remain in first place, while accountancy is of increased relative importance, and law is of decreased relative importance. It appears that as respondents have matured, they have diversified their professional aspirations away from the tradition professions of law and medicine towards the more practical and newer professions, such as engin-

TABLE 4.16: Professional aspirations by tribe.

Profession	Creoles		Provincials		Total	
Medicine	5	(20%)	14	(32%)	19	(28%)
Law	3	(12%)	7	(16%)	10	(14%)
Accountancy	10	(40%)	5	(11%)	15	(22%)
Engineering	3	(12%)	14	(32%)	17	(25%)
Other	4	(16%)	4	(9%)	8	(12%)
Total	25	(100%)	44	(100%)	69	(101%)

eering and accountancy. This may indicate an increasing awareness of the possibilities available, as well as an awareness of the difficulties of following up other possibilities which had previously been favoured. A considerable decline in the total number of professional choices also suggests that many respondents had come to terms with their inability to achieve their original occupational ambitions.

Clignet and Foster have argued that the most enculturated groups will be the first to see new occupational opportunities, while the less enculturated groups will concentrate on the older, more established professions. The present data offer mixed evidence on this. It does appear that a slightly higher proportion of Provincials are interested in the traditional professions of medicine and law, and that a definitely higher proportion of Creoles are interested in the"newer profession"of accountancy.[1]

[1] In fact the contrast between Creoles and Provincials in

It seems possible, however, that the proneness of Creoles to choose accountancy results not from the fact that it is a new profession, but rather from its congruence with the forms of white collar employment traditionally practised by Creoles. In addition, the data on engineering - another "new profession" - fail to confirm the hypothesis of Clignet and Foster, for careers in engineering are mainly chosen by Provincials. It seems possible that the indistinct dividing line between engineering as a profession and engineering as a manual occupation may deter those Creoles who are orientated towards white collar employment. Many of the Provincials who are interested in engineering are already in manual employment, and see the move to the engineering profession - probably wrongly - as a natural progression; but there are also some Provincial teachers and clerical workers who also aspire to become engineers; and they may well have a better chance of achieving this than the manual workers. It also seems probable that the Provincials are more attracted to the practical professions, such as medicine and engineering, because they seem more relevant to the problems of the rural areas;[1] while Creoles are more interested in accountancy because of its predominantly urban orientation. Thus the real contrast may not be between the "older" and "newer" professions, as the hypothesis of Clignet and Foster would seem to imply, but between professions which are obviously practical and relevant to the needs of society, and particularly the rural

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the choice of medicine would be even greater if males alone were considered, for three of the five Creoles choosing medicine or dentistry were in fact females.

[1] Agriculture is chosen more often by Provincials than by Creoles for the same reason.

areas; and others, such as accountancy, the relevance of which to such problems are less immediately obvious. The present sample, however, is too small to give conclusive results; but some further data on the same point will be presented in the next section.

What, then, are the conclusions of this section on the long-term occupational aspirations of the respondents? The most remarkable feature is the extent to which many respondents, although they appeared to be reasonably satisfied with their present jobs, and did not contemplate any immediate change of job, still retained high levels of occupational aspirations. To appreciate the complexity of the pattern, however, it is useful to divide up respondents into four different categories. Firstly, there are the female respondents: they usually have limited aspirations from the start, mainly concentrated in the teaching, nursing and white collar fields; and they usually expect to remain in the same type of occupation for the rest of their careers, though perhaps with some promotion within the same occupational category - e.g. from clerical worker to typist or secretary. Though the majority of females cling tenaciously to employment, a significant minority expected to be in retirement after 20 years, though probably participating in the ubiquitous petty trade of West African women.

The second category consists of those male respondents who expect to stay in the same occupational category for the next 20 years - i.e. probably for the rest of their working life. They are found particularly in teaching and manual occupations, and are particularly likely to come from lower socio-economic

groups: thus 32% of Provincial males expected to be still in teaching, nursing, clerical or manual work after 20 years, compared with only 11% of Creole males. It seems likely that they either feel that there is an adequate career structure in their chosen occupation, particularly in the case of teaching, or that they have very little chance of improving their education, and hence occupational position. It may be noted here that very few respondents considered that clerical work offered an adequate career structure; and that the vast majority of clerical workers were hoping to leave this field within the next 20 years.

The third group consists of those who planned to enter commerce, particularly on their own account. A particularly high proportion of these are recruited from among Creoles and white collar workers generally. It appears that they recognise that their opportunities for educational and occupational advancement in their present line of work are fairly limited; and it is also possible that their occupational experience in white collar employment predisposes them to enter a business career. It was also suggested that these aspirations should not necessarily be interpreted as an attempt to grasp new occupational opportunities presented by economic development and Africanisation. It may be seen also as an attempt to return to a traditionally valued stereotype - that of the "private man" or "independent man".

The final and largest group is that of respondents who retained ambitions of a similar level to their original aspirations. While about a fifth of respondents fell into each of the

first three categories, almost twice as many fell into this category, about 46% of all male respondents still hoping to reach top professional, administrative and political jobs. Only among manual workers was this proportion considerably lower, indicating their greater resignation to their present jobs. Those who retained high aspirations were divided between those who still had their original aspirations, and those who had changed their aspirations to others of a similarly high level, perhaps within the field in which they were currently employed. Although there were differences in the distribution of Creoles and Provincials between these various categories, with Provincials being more likely to come to terms with their present jobs, and Creoles being more likely to choose a business career, there was no variation between Creoles and Provincials in the proportions retaining high levels of aspiration.

Thus the general conclusion is that although some workers had become resigned or reconciled to their present occupations, and others had decided to seek alternative outlets for their ambitions through private business, many had, despite their many frustrations, retained a high level of occupational aspirations. It should also be noted, however, that many respondents indicated considerable uncertainty in their answers. Some said plainly that they could not guess what they would be doing after 20 years, while others said that it would depend on a number of factors, such as education, money, luck or the "will of God". Some respondents appeared to have high but unspecific levels of aspirations, as in the case of an unemployed Mende who said that after

20 years he might be a doctor, a teacher or an engineer, or an unemployed Temne who said that he expected to be either a doctor or an engineer. Others said that they expected to be "head of a department", without being able to specify the type of department. A few respondents thought that after 20 years they might be representing Sierra Leone abroad, for example at the United Nations; while others felt that they should be in positions where they were directing the affairs of the country. In such cases the element of fantasy is obvious, with the aspirations not only being high, but also lacking specificity.

In the majority of cases, however, aspirations did not seem entirely unrealistic. Apart from females, most of whose aspirations appeared quite modest, about a quarter of males actually expected to be in the same type of occupation after 20 years; and even among those retaining high aspirations, many may still have quite a good chance of achieving their ambitions. A survey of students at Fourah Bay College in the session 1968-69 revealed that two fifths (244/614) of the total student body and one third (175/522) of the Sierra Leonean students had worked for some time before coming to university, and these proportions are particularly high among male students. Of students who had been employed, 54% (132/244) had been teachers, 35% (85/244) had been clerical workers, and 16% (38/244) had held other types of jobs, particularly of a technical nature. This shows that even those in employment have an opportunity of returning to full-time education; and confirm the respondents' beliefs that teachers are probably best placed to take advantage of these opportunities.[1]

TABLE 4.17: Employment status of respondents in 1972.[1]

	Males		Females		Total	
Still in same job	65	(50%)	17	(44%)	82	(49%)
Studying in Sierra Leone	8	(6%)	2	(5%)	10	(6%)
Studying abroad	15	(12%)	8	(21%)	23	(14%)
Left job for other reasons	41	(32%)	12	(31%)	53	(32%)
Total	129	(100%)	39	(101%)	168	(101%)

1 This information is available for a total of only 168 respondents.

It was possible in 1972 - i.e. between three and four years after the original interviews - to check on the educational and occupational progress of about two thirds (168/250) of the respondents; and, though these data are not entirely reliable, it does suggest, firstly, a relatively high rate of job turnover; and, secondly, that many of the respondents do in fact manage to continue with their education. As can be seen from Tables 4.17 and 4.18, only about half of the respondents were still in the same job three or four years after the time of their interview. The rate of turnover seems particularly high at U.A.C.; and this may be attributed partly to the closing down of one major subsidiary and the reorganisation of another, and partly to more normal causes of labour turnover. Particularly at S.L.S.T. and the

1 It should be noted that these percentages add up to more than 100% for some respondents had held more than one type of job.

Brewery there appears to be a low rate of labour turnover, and this would appear to be especially so among manual workers in these firms. Their basic qualifications were probably not enough to allow them to gain further education, and their skills were often not transferable to other occupational situations. Thus, although such workers were more dissatisfied with their jobs than most other respondents in the sample, their opportunities for improving their positions were more restricted; and this presumably accounts for their high occupational stability.[1] There also appeared to be considerable stability among workers in the civil service, but this is partially disguised by the relatively large numbers who were away on study leave. Opportunities for study leave are mainly confined to the civil service and teaching; and, as the respondents themselves recognised, this constitutes one of the great advantages of such occupations.[2]

The reasons for leaving jobs were diverse, and it was not possible to check on them accurately, especially as the information was only obtained from the management of the firms in which they had worked at the time of interview. At least two of the respondents had died, and another had resigned because of ill-health, while others had been retrenched or dismissed, or had resigned for other reasons, including disputes with management, attempts to obtain better jobs, andto further their education.

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1 It is interesting that S.L.S.T. appeared to have both the highest level of dissatisfaction among workers and the highest level of occupational stability.

2 The importance of government employment is also seen among students at F.B.C., for over a third of those who had been employed before coming to university had worked for the government (quite apart from teachers), while only about 7% had worked in commerce, industry or mining.

TABLE 4.18: Employer at time of interview by present occupational status.

	Still in same job	Studying in Sierra Leone	Studying abroad	Left job for other reason	Total
Civil service	12	4	5	6	27
	44%	15%	19%	22%	100%
Teaching	13	4	3	15	35
	37%	11%	9%	43%	100%
United Africa Company	11	1	5	21	38
	29%	3%	13%	55%	100%
S.L. Brewery	18	1	3	6	28
	64%	4%	11%	21%	100%
Fourah Bay College	4	0	5	2	11
	36%	-	45%	18%	99%
Sierra Leone Selection Trust	24	0	2	3	29
	83%	-	7%	10%	100%
Total	82	10	23	53	168
	49%	6%	14%	32%	101%

The latter is of course of primary interest here. It appears that at least one fifth of respondents on whom information was available were able to continue their education; but the total number may well be higher, particularly in the case of teachers and employees of U.A.C., for ex-employers were not always able to say why the respondents had resigned, or where had been their destination. Making allowance for the fact that of respondents who had left, an occupational destination was known in only 14 cases, it is possible that any proportion between one fifth and two fifths had actually gone on to continue their education.

It is interesting that of the respondents who were continuing their education, the majority (23/33) were doing so overseas - in Britain, the United States, Russia, France and Australia. It may also be noted that Creoles appeared slightly more likely to be continuing their education than Provincials, Creoles comprising two thirds (22/33) of those who were definitely able to continue their education, but just over half (84/166) of this part of the sample; and females were slightly more likely to continue than males, 26% (10/39) continuing, compared with only 18% (23/129) of males. The main point to be noted here, however, is that quite a number of respondents were able to continue their education after the time at which they were interviewed; and therefore the retention by some of them of a high level of educational and occupational aspirations should not be considered so unrealistic.

The evaluation of occupations.

We may now look briefly at the respondents' evaluations of occupations. In the last chapter the respondents' occupational aspirations were examined in some detail, and it was suggested that the distribution of these aspirations could not be fully explained in terms of the reasons given by respondents for their choices. It was suggested that though such reasons might help explain the incidence of individual choices, the overall pattern of choices was a function of the general evaluation of occupations in society as a whole. It has also been seen in the previous sections of this chapter that even at the time they were interviewed many respondents retained high aspirations; and the pattern of these must similarly be explained in terms of the general evaluation of occupations. It remains, then, to examine the respondents' evaluations of occupations, and to assess their congruence with the distribution of respondents' occupational aspirations.

The method used in the present study in measuring the evaluation of occupations was the simplest possible: respondents were asked to say which occupations they considered to be the best in Sierra Leone; and to give reasons for their answers. They were also asked to say which occupations they thought to be most highly paid, which they thought had the highest prestige or status, and which they thought were the worst jobs in Sierra Leone.

This differs from the usual method of studying the evaluation of occupations in Africa, which has been to present respondents with a fixed list of occupations, perhaps containing about 30 common occupations, and to ask them to rank them in order of preference, prestige or income, as in the studies of Xydias (1956), Mitchell and Epstein (1959), Mitchell (1966), Gamble (1966) and Peil (1972).[1] This is a more efficient and comprehensive method than the one used here, ensuring standardisation of the occupations considered, and the ranking of occupations throughout the status hierarchy. The present method, on the other hand, involves only those occupations volunteered by respondents, and concentrates on occupations placed at the top and the bottom of the status hierarchy. This open-ended approach has a number of advantages, however: for example, it allows the respondents a free choice in naming occupations as the best or the worst; it does not force respondents to rank occupations about which they may be unsure; and it avoids the spurious precision of ranking occupations which are in fact of very similar status. It also allows more opportunity to cross-question the respondents on the subjective reasons for their evaluations. Perhaps the most important advantage of the method in the present situation, however, was that it could more conveniently be incorporated within the confines of the interviews to be used in this research project.

It must be admitted, however, that the questions involved some ambiguities which allowed respondents to interpret them in rather different ways. For example, some respondents interpret-

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[1] See also Foster (1965) and Clignet and Foster (1966).

ed the questions on "best jobs" as referring to the best jobs in the society as a whole, while others seemed to think of it on a narrower basis, as referring to the best jobs for themselves, or even occasionally as the best jobs within the establishments in which they worked. The former might answer in terms of the Governor General, the Prime Minister or the head of the civil service, while the latter might answer in terms of clerical or technical jobs which were at about their own occupational level. This also illustrates the difference between respondents who replied in terms of specific occupations, and others who gave more general occupational categories. A rather similar difference was found between those respondents who answered in terms of specific occupations, and others who interpreted the question to be about the sector of the economy which they thought to be best - the latter might mention the civil service, commerce, the professions or private business. Finally, some respondents denied that it was possible to pick out the best jobs in Sierra Leone. They said, for example, that all jobs were good; or that their own jobs were best for themselves, but that they could not say which would be best for other people. This corresponded with an even greater unwillingness to admit that there was any"worst job" in Sierra Leone; but this will be discussed in greater detail below.

Examination of Table 4.19 does appear to indicate that there is a general congruence between occupational aspirations and the evaluation of occupations; and it is being suggested here that the former are mainly a reflection of the latter. In particular, it may be noted that that the professions are by far

TABLE 4.19: The evaluation of occupations.

	The "best" occupation		The highest paid occupation		Occupation with highest status	
Politicians	24	(5%)	25	(9%)	46	(14%)
Senior civil service	48	(10%)	10	(4%)	36	(11%)
The Professions	190	(40%)	127	(47%)	145	(45%)
Teaching	33	(7%)	5	(2%)	34	(11%)
Clerical	39	(8%)	23	(9%)	30	(9%)
Technical	21	(4%)	21	(8%)	2	(1%)
Manual	44	(9%)	16	(6%)	3	(1%)
Business, trade	43	(9%)	30	(11%)	14	(4%)
Farming	19	(4%)	5	(2%)	6	(2%)
Other	10	(2%)	8	(3%)	5	(2%)
None	(36)		(56)		(32)	
Total[1]	471	(98%)	270	(101%)	321	(100%)

[1] As multiple choices were possible, the absolute figures add up to more than the number of respondents. The percentages are calculated on the number of choices and not on the basis of the number of respondents.

TABLE 4.20: The evaluation of professions.[1]

	The "best" profession		The highest paid profession		Profession with highest status	
Medicine	60	(32%)	30	(24%)	62	(43%)
Engineering	54	(28%)	41	(32%)	15	(10%)
Law	42	(22%)	25	(19%)	42	(29%)
Accountancy, banking	30	(16%)	26	(20%)	15	(10%)
Academic, scientific	4	(2%)	5	(4%)	9	(6%)
Divinity	0	(-)	0	(-)	2	(1%)
None	(130)		(154)		(143)	
Total	190	(100%)	127	(99%)	145	(99%)

[1] Multiple choices were allowed, and so the absolute figures add up to more than the total number of respondents. The percentages are calculated on the basis of the total number of choices, and not on the basis of the total number of respondents.

the most highly evaluated occupational category, which is consistent with their pre-eminence among aspirations. They were mentioned as among the best occupations by 49% of all respondents, and by 57% of respondents giving positive answers; and, as can be seen from Table 4.19, they consistituted 40% of all occupations which were given as the best. Note was also taken of the frequency with which the various professions were mentioned, and once again this is similar to the distribution of professional aspirations, with medicine being most popular, followed by engineering, law and accountancy. Only a small number of respondents mention-

ed the newer academic and scientific professions; and no respondents mentioned divinity. Thus the results appear to confirm that the high professional aspirations of respondents reflect a similar pattern in the general evaluation of such occupations; and even the relative ranking of the various professions is very similar in the two cases.

Other "best jobs" were mentioned much less frequently than the professions, none of the other categories constituting more than 10% of all replies. In addition, the other occupational categories are closely grouped, with, for example, the senior civil service, manual employment, business and trade, clerical work, teaching and politics all constituting between 5% and 10% of replies; and because of this, and the other difficulties mentioned above, it is not possible to rank them unequivocally, or to pick out any consistent principle governing their ranking. This does not mean, however, that individuals had no coherent reasons for selecting particular occupations - such reasons will be discussed below.

The "senior civil service" category was the next most popular after the professions, but it made up only 10% of all replies, compared with 40% for the professions. This, however, was rather similar to its importance among aspirations. The civil service category was split almost equally between specifically named positions, such as secretary to the prime minister, establishment secretary, principal secretary and district commissioner, and the more general category of administrative grade civil servant. It is perhaps surprising in view of the promin-

ence of government employment, but this corresponds with its relatively low proportion of occupational aspirations. Political jobs were also mentioned surprisingly seldom, constituting only 5% of all replies. In about two thirds of these cases positions of the highest rank, such as governor general, prime minister, or minister,were specifically mentioned, while the remaining third involved members of parliament or politicians without specific rank. On the whole it appeared that, though respondents believed that politicians were well rewarded in terms of money and prestige, they were suspicious of them and felt that they had very little security in office.[1]

Manual work was a relatively popular category, making up about 9% of replies, and being made up of roughly equal proportions of choices of craftsmen in the modern sector of the economy and motor mechanics. This may also seem rather surprising, especially as it thus ranks above such categories as politicians, teachers, and clerical workers; but it appears that such choices were most often made by respondents who were themselves in manual occupations, and they were emphasising not only that these were the jobs that they liked best for themselves, but also that they were functionally important for society, being the basis of production and economic development. It was also felt that they offered good opportunities for making money.

Business and trade were also mentioned by about17% of respondents, making up about 9% of all replies, but about four fifths

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[1] These results on the relative lack of popularity of politics and the civil service are also found in Foster (1965) and Clignet and Foster (1966).

of the replies suggested that the respondents were thinking primarily in terms of business managers in large bureaucratic firms rather than private businessmen or traders. It seemed that they were valuing the modern, graduate executive who would be interchangeable with his civil service counterpart, and has an equivalent educational background to the highly ranked professional rather than the traditional businessman. In this the evaluation of businessmen is similar to the original occupational aspirations of respondents, though not to their later aspirations when they began to think in terms of independent business. This might indicate that these latter aspirations do not stem from the respondents' evaluations of occupations, but are a sign of their adaptation of their aspirations as they come to realise that their opportunities are much more limited - i.e. when they come to realise that they cannot reach the positions which they evaluate most highly, but must satisfy themselves with something more modest.

Clerical jobs were also mentioned relatively frequently, mainly as a category of jobs suitable for the respondents themselves, and in implicit opposition to other possible jobs in the fields of teaching, technical work, and manual employment. It seems unlikely that respondents were actually evaluating such jobs more highly than the professions and other higher grade occupations. Occupations concerned with teaching made up 7% of all replies, and about one third of these respondents indicated that they were thinking primarily of higher level teachers, such as principals or secondary school teachers.

Occupations concerned with agriculture constituted only 4% of all replies. As agriculture in Sierra Leone is mainly carried on by illiterate farmers on a small scale using traditional methods, it is not usually recognised as a desirable occupation. The few respondents who did mention farming as among the best jobs in Sierra Leone were usually thinking of the contribution of farmers to the national economy, and not of the benefits received by the farmers themselves. The final category of "others" was made up of soldiers, supervisors, nurses, and people in the diamond industry.

It thus appears that there is at least a rough parallelism between occupational aspirations - particularly early occupational aspirations - and the general evaluation of occupations; and it seems reasonable to conclude that the former are based on the latter. What is remarkable is that most respondents, irrespective of socio-economic background believed that they could reach the positions which were most highly evaluated by other members of society as well as by themselves. This is indicative of the beliefs in the openness of society, and the importance of education as a means of social mobility, which were mentioned in the introductory chapter. The emergence of a significant proportion of respondents interested in starting their own businesses, however, may be one of the first signs of respondents recognising that their original aspirations might no longer be feasible. These aspirations were not reflected in the respondents evaluations of occupations; and hence they suggest that respondents were beginning to come to terms with the possibility that they might not after all reach the most highly evaluated positions.

TABLE 4.21: "Best job" by tribe.

"Best job"	Creoles		Provincials		Total	
Politics	9	(5%)	15	(5%)	24	(5%)
Senior civil service	19	(10%)	29	(10%)	48	(10%)
Professions	79	(43%)	111	(39%)	190	(40%)
Teaching	8	(4%)	25	(9%)	33	(7%)
Clerical	23	(13%)	16	(6%)	39	(8%)
Technical	9	(5%)	12	(4%)	21	(4%)
Manual	10	(5%)	34	(12%)	44	(9%)
Business	22	(12%)	21	(7%)	43	(9%)
Farming	3	(2%)	16	(6%)	19	(4%)
Other	2	(1%)	8	(2%)	10	(2%)
None	(14)		(22)		(36)	
Total	184	(100%)	287	(100%)	471	(98%)

If occupational aspirations are based on the general evaluation of occupations, then it would seem likely that the lack of variations in occupational aspirations between respondents of differing socio-economic backgrounds would also be reflected in a lack of variation in the evaluation of occupations between respondents of differing socio-economic backgrounds. A glance at Table 4.21 shows that, although there are some minor variations, this proposition is substantially true. It may be noted, however,

that in terms of the professions alone there was some tendency for the Creoles to evaluate accountancy more highly than Provincials, and for Provincials to evaluate medicine and engineering more highly than Creoles, which is consistent with a similar variation in their occupational aspirations, as noted in the last section. The current occupational aspirations of Creoles and Provincials differ rather more than their original aspirations, with Creoles becoming more interested in business and Provincials in politics, teaching, manual work and farming; and this divergence may also be a sign of respondents moving away from the situation in which they based their occupational aspirations on their absolute evaluation of occupations. If such aspirations were still based on absolute evaluations of occupations they would presumably continue to show the uniformity between Creoles and Provincials which is found in their evaluations; but as the respondents come to realise that they can no longer hope to reach the most coveted positions in society, and adjust their occupational aspirations to the realities of their actual situations, a divergence in the aspirations of Creoles and Provincials emerges which reflects their rather different positions in the labour market. Thus the conclusion of this discussion may be that, though respondents' original occupational aspirations were mainly based on the occupations which they evaluated most highly, there is some indication in the later aspirations of some respondents that they are coming to terms with the realities of their situation; and hence no longer base their aspirations on the most highly evaluated occup-

ations in society, but rather on the reality of their own position within the labour market. This is the kind of adjustment which might be expected as respondents found their original aspirations frustrated; but it should be noted that at the time of their interview only a relatively small proportion of respondents had reacted in this way. Most appeared to have retained their original level of aspirations, or, in other words, they continued to base their aspirations on their absolute evaluation of occupations in society.

Respondents were also asked to explain the basis of their choice of "best jobs"; and the distribution of their answers is shown in Table 4.22. Because of those who did not answer on best jobs, and a few who could give no coherent reasons for their choices, 19% did not reply to this question. For the rest, financial factors appear to have been predominant in their evaluation of occupations: they accounted for two fifths of all replies to the question; and were mentioned by 45% of all respondents, and 55% of those who answered this particular question. Apart from general financial con siderations, some occupations were highly evaluated for more specific financial reasons: thus of those giving answers, 9% mentioned the possibilities for obtaining private jobs after work (i.e. "moonlighting"); 8% mentioned the availability of many jobs, or, in other words, the lack of sufficient specialists in Sierra Leone; and 5% mentioned the opportunities for self-employment or starting ones own business. Thus it appears that financial factors are of primary importance in the evaluation of occupations; and this is consistent with the findings of Foster (1965) and of Peil (1972).

TABLE 4.22: Reasons for choosing the "best job".

Reasons	Creoles		Provincials		Total	
General financial	54	(68%)	58	(47%)	112	(55%)
National service, help others	8	(10%)	28	(23%)	36	(18%)
Prestige	9	(11%)	12	(10%)	21	(10%)
Opportunities for private jobs	8	(10%)	10	(8%)	18	(9%)
Many jobs available	9	(11%)	8	(7%)	17	(8%)
Educational	6	(8%)	10	(8%)	16	(8%)
Conditions of employment	7	(9%)	7	(6%)	14	(7%)
Opportunities for self-employment	4	(5%)	6	(5%)	10	(5%)
Security	4	(5%)	5	(4%)	9	(4%)
Other	5	(6%)	6	(5%)	11	(5%)
Number of respondents	80		123		203	
Number giving no response	20		27		47	
Total number of respondents	100		150		250	

The second most common set of reasons for choosing certain occupations as the best in Sierra Leone was more altruistic, concerning the contribution which these occupations could make towards the good of society as a whole, or of particular individuals within it. The professions, technical work, and teaching were all often picked out for the role they could play in national development, or in helping people in general; and their high value was often specifically related to the shortage of trained people in Sierra Leone who could fill such positions. Most respondents who gave agriculture as one of the best jobs were thinking primarily of the role of the farmer in providing food and other raw material for the nation as a whole. As a mechanic at S.L.S.T. put it, farming is the best job in Sierra Leone for without the farmers we cannot live.

Jobs were evaluated in terms of their status by about 10% of respondents who gave answers on this point. This appears to confirm the conclusions of Foster and Peil that financial factors are much more important than status in determining the overall evaluation of occupations in West Africa (Foster, 1965, pp. 272-273; Peil, 1972, pp. 117-122);[1] and it may even be assumed that the prestige of an occupation depends largely on the level of income which it can command. But although this may be largely true, this does not mean that the status of an occupation is entirely determined by its level of income. As can be seen from Tables 4.19 and 4.20, status exists as an important independent

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[1] Foster and Peil established this by a rather different means to the one used here, namely by the comparison of their respondents' generalised rankings of a list of occupations, and their ranking of the same occupations according to their perceptions of the incomes which they command.

dimension in the evaluation of occupations, for certain occupations are evaluated rather differently in terms of income and prestige. Thus occupations in the civil service and teaching appear to be more highly evaluated in terms of status than of income, while the reverse is true of business, technical and manual occupations. Similarly among the professions, the older, more established professions of medicine and law are more highly evaluated in terms of status than of income, while the newer professions, such as accountancy and engineering, are more highly evaluated in terms of income than of status. Thus, although the overall evaluation of occupations shows financial factors to be of much greater importance than prestige factors, status does appear to exist as an independent dimension in the evaluation of occupations.[1] In the long-run, however, there may be a tendency towards increased status crystallisation, with, for example, the newer professions gaining more prestige in line with their level of income. It seems likely that in the long-run in modern societies financial factors are the crucial determinants of the status of occupations.

About 8% of respondents chose certain occupations as the best because they were thought to be educational. Sometimes it was being implied that the jobs concerned were for educated persons, and were thus associated with a "civilised" way of life; but more often the respondents were meaning that one would learn

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[1] Such variations in status crystallisation in occupations may have implications for the satisfaction of persons in them, as Grillo points out. For example, white collar workers, who are in occupations with relatively high status but relatively low income may feel relative deprivation when they compare themselves

more in the job, either in the narrower sense of through formal education, or more about life in general. The professions and teaching were particularly likely to be mentioned in this respect, but some manual workers also said that they thought their own types of occupation were good because of the desirability of "learning a trade" or because it was educational to work with different kinds of machines.

Only a handful of respondents evaluated occupations in terms of their actual work content, or the general conditions and facilities associated with them. Thus only four respondents chose a job as the best because the work was pleasant or satisfying, only three because of its promotion prospects, and only seven because of the conditions and facilities attached to the job, such as free use of a car, opportunities for study-leave, and so on. The fact that these dimensions are mentioned relatively infrequently once again emphasises the paramount importance of financial rewards in job evaluation; but it also seems probable that the method of investigation has under-estimated the importance of such factors. Respondents may take them for granted, and therefore be unlikely to volunteer them as reasons for choosing an occupation as the best. This suggestion seems supported by the fact that the respondents in the Ivory Coast study of Clignet and Foster, who were given a multiple choice type of question on reasons for occupational evaluation, appeared to rank security as one of the most important factors (Clignet and Foster, 1966, pp. 161-162).

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with manual workers who score higher on income, though lower on status (Grillo, 1973). Similar attitudes were also expressed in some of the comments of respondents in the present study.

Conditions of work and security of employment were particularly likely to be mentioned in contrasting conditions of employment in different sectors of the economy. Of the 288 occupational choices which could be classified by sector of the economy, about two fifths were in the professions or teaching, about one quarter in government employment, and about one fifth in bureaucratic commercial or industrial employment, while about one twentieth each concerned agriculture and other forms of self-employment. It was generally felt that one was better paid and learnt more in commercial employment, particularly in one of the large expatriate firms, but that the work was much harder than with the government. Government employment was felt to be easy-going and relaxed, to give greater security of employment, and to offer more chances for promotion and such fringe benefits as study leave with pay. Thus a Creole laboratory assistant at the Brewery believed that the best jobs were to be found in government departments: for degree holders there are many jobs which do not entail too much energy, involving only a short day's work, but in industry they work you too hard - that is why industry has to pay a bit more. Without a degree you can rise in government service in the course of time on the basis of seniority, and the government gives greater security of tenure. An unemployed female of Nigerian origin said that she wished to work for the government, not for a commercial firm, for the government encourages you, for example by giving you days off for relaxing; while a teacher at Blama said that he thought government work was best, for they cannot disturb you. Such easy-going attitudes

to government employment are probably found throughout the world, but they are a particular problem in the developing nations of West Africa.

Finally in this section we may look at the jobs which respondents selected as the worst in Sierra Leone. Perhaps not surprisingly, labourers and watchmen were thought to have the worst jobs, about one quarter (60/250) of respondents mentioning general labourers, 12% (29/250) scavengers or sanitary labourers, and 4% (11/250) watchmen or security guards. This means that two fifths of respondents gave such occupations as the worst in Sierra Leone; and this represents 69% of both answers given by respondents who replied on worst jobs and of the worst jobs mentioned (100/144). Some of these answers seem to have been prompted by the arduous, unpleasant, or dangerous nature of the work - in particular, labouring is seen to be hard and tiring, sanitary work to be unpleasant, and security work to be dangerous - but respondents were most likely to mention the poor rates of pay, and the resulting low standard of living. Thus, once again the importance of financial considerations in job evaluation can be seen.

Several other occupations were also mentioned as the worst in Sierra Leone, but only by small numbers of respondents. Thus 4% said that clerical work was the worst, and 3% picked out teaching, mainly because of the relatively poor rates of pay. Another 2% of respondents selected politics as the worst job, mainly because of the insecurity of political positions. As a Mende library assistant in Bo states, politics is the worst job, for politicians can be manhandled; while another respondent remarked that

politicians could be kicked out at any time, and when people kick them out, they kick them out with disgrace.

Perhaps more interesting than these rather obvious answers on the worst jobs in Sierra Leone is the fact that as many as two fifths (106/250) of respondents refused to admit that there was such a thing as a worst job in Sierra Leone. Their usual comments were that all jobs were good for to work and make some money was better than to be unemployed, or that all jobs were functionally necessary for society. Such comments included: there are no worst jobs as long as they pay money, ... everybody wants a job, ... any job is better than unemployment, ... it is difficult to get a job, and so any job is good, ... every job is important, ... all jobs contribute to the welfare of the country. The idea that there is no worst job as long as a job allows a person to earn his living is quite consistent with the overall evaluation of "best jobs" in financial terms. The evaluation of occupations primarily in terms of their financial rewards suggests that work is seen primarily as a means of making a living rather than as an intrinsically satisfying way of passing the time, or as a means of gaining prestige in the wider society. Especially when jobs are scarce, people will worry more about obtaining a job and making some money rather than about the type of work. As Peil writes with reference to her sample of industrial workers in Ghana:

> "..... factory work is considered similar to other urban employment. The vital point is to be employed, not the level of technology which this employment involves.
>
> "Given the current economic climate and level of unemployment, men with middle school education or less value the

> ability to find and keep a job but do not place much emphasis on the type of job except insofar as the prospects for its continuance are good or bad" (Peil, 1972, p.221).

Although such attitudes are probably more pronounced among middle school leavers than among the more educated secondary school leavers included in the present survey, they also appear to play an important part in moulding the evaluation of occupations among the latter.

Summary and conclusions.

In this chapter evidence has been presented which supports two tentative conclusions advanced in the last chapter. Firstly, it was suggested in the last chapter that the surprisingly high level of occupational satisfaction among respondents could be explained partly by the fact that they viewed their current jobs as merely temporary stop-gaps, and they still held hopes and even expectations that they would be able to obtain higher status occupations, often equivalent to their original aspirations. The evidence presented in this chapter confirms that the majority of respondents, and particularly of male respondents, did retain such ambitions for further educational and occupational mobility, and usually believed that they had a good chance of being successful. Thus there appeared to be little tendency for respondents to downwardly adjust their aspirations because of their lack of initial success in abbieving them; many retained the same or similar ambitions to their original ones; and their motto seemed to be "Try, try, try again." As explained in the last chapter, their continuing faith in the possibilities of social mobility may be an

important factor explaining their levels of satisfaction with their current occupations, and their adjustment to society generally. Indeed it may be that not only do such beliefs in the possibility of social mobility contribute to the personal adjustment of individual young people, but also to the political stability of the society as a whole. It was also noted that the aspirations of female respondents were usually considerably lower than those of males, but that there was relatively little variation between the aspirations of respondents from differing socio-economic backgrounds. In this respect, although some differences were noted, the pattern was basically similar to that of original aspirations.

An impression that all respondents retained their originally high levels of aspiration, however, would be an oversimplification; and to obtain a more complete picture of responses to the occupational situation, five main types may be distinguished. Firstly, there were the low aspirers, who originally had low levels of aspiration, and were thus quite satisfied with the types of job that they had been able to obtain. The majority of these were females who, as was seen in the last chapter, tended to have lower aspirations than their male counterparts.

Secondly, there were the compromisers, who, although they originally had high aspirations, had become reconciled to the types of occupation that they had actually obtained. This may be illustrated by the case of a Mende bookbinder. He had originally hoped to become a doctor so that he could help his people, but he had to leave school because of difficulties in paying his

school fees. He first had a job as a temporary clerk, but after three months saw an advertisement for a bookbinder at F.B.C. and successfully applied for the job. Although at first he hoped to return to his original ambition of studying medicine, he gradually became more interested in bookbinding. As he explained, in Sierra Leone one does not plan a career, unless your people are rich - so one is willing to try anything. He came to like the job he had obtained, because when he saw a book he was happy, knowing that he could make it himself. Also he recognised that there was little competition in the trade, for there were few bookbinders in Freetown; and so if there was any expansion in business he could hope to obtain a good position. He hoped to pursue further studies in bookbinding, either in Sierra Leone or abroad, and to make his own career in it, perhaps one day opening his own business. This compromising response was particularly common among manual workers and teachers.

The third type of response was to plan to"opt out"of bureaucratic employment when the opportunity arose, and to enter some new field of independent employment, such as business, farming or politics. It was suggested that this urge to start a business was not necessarily a sign of modernisation, enculturation or innovation, as Foster seems to suggest, but rather that it was often motivated by a desire to return to a traditionally valued status of self-employment, especially among those who believed that their prospects were blocked in other directions. A few respondents were undoubtedly hoping for big, booming businesses, but others expected after 20 years to be living in a state of semi-retirement

as respected elder members of their families, and doing a bit of trading on the side. A number of females also expected to be doing business after 20 years, and invariably they were thinking of combining trading with their duties as wives and mothers.

It appears that clerks and teachers were particularly likely to think in terms of business, while manual workers were relatively more interested in farming. Interest in self-employment was most marked among clerical workers: from the very small number of respondents who expected to be clerks after 20 years, it appears that clerical work was not considered suitable employment for older men. Clerical workers were particularly interested in leaving their present jobs to start their own businesses, for they felt that in their present jobs they had gained valuable experience which would help them in such a venture. Creole respondents were more likely than Provincials to hope to start their own business, probably because of the strong business tradition in the Creole community. Aspirations to enter farming and politics, on the other hand, were found almost exclusively among Provincials, which reflects their rural backgrounds and the present predominance of Provincials in politics respectively.

The fourth type of respondent may be called <u>the adapter</u>: such respondents retained their high levels of occupational aspiration, but transferred these ambitions from their original field to the field in which they were now working. Although originally they had perhaps little interest in the occupational field in which they obtained employment, in the course of their work they learnt about the higher status jobs in this field, and gained some

experience and contacts which they believed would help them towards such positions. Thus it appears that their experience at work modified their original occupational aspirations. Examples of this include accounts clerks who hoped to qualify as accountants, and teachers, who, after some years of experience in the field, decided to make this their career.

Some respondents appear to have been tempted to turn away from their original ambitions, but to have later turned back to them. This was so in the case of a Creole laboratory assistant whose ambition while at school had been to become a doctor. When he had to leave school, partly because of poor results and partly because he wanted to earn some money to help his sisters who were still in school, he had hoped to obtain a job in a medical laboratory; but he considered himself lucky when he managed to get his first job in the laboratory of the Ministry of Public Works. He felt that he was underpaid there, however, and so applied to the Brewery, thus obtaining the job he held at the time he was interviewed. He liked the work at the Brewery, finding it really scientific and academic, and he learnt about the brewing of beer. In fact, during his first few weeks at the Brewery, he thought of changing his field, and doing a course in brewing, but by the time he was interviewed he had reverted to his original ambition of medicine. He hoped to win a scholarship to America, where he might try for a degree in bio-chemistry before turning to medicine. After five years he expected to be a student, while after 20 years he expected to be a doctor, perhaps with a hospital of his own. This

respondent should really be classified in the final category, and also has something in common with those in the third category insofar as he wanted to start a private hospital.

The final category is made up of those respondents who remained constant to their original aspirations, despite their initial lack of success in achieving them. Such determination may be illustrated by the case of a female Creole teacher, who already referred to medicine as "my career" at the time she was interviewed, stating that "since starting school, medicine has been my career". At school she always best liked subjects which related to medicine, she passed them in exams, and she was now teaching them herself; while at the library she always chose medical books. She felt it natural for her to be a doctor, for she had a special liking for the profession, and liked treating people. She also had a sister who was a nurse. On leaving school she had done no work for two years, but through private study had obtained another three "O"-levels to add to the two which she had obtained at school. She had attempted to obtain a part time job at the hospital, but had been unsuccessful. She started teaching at her old school only because she was asked to fill in for someone who was away, but she did not like anything about teaching: she complained that the children were not only dull but also obstinate; and the job was not well paid. She expected to leave soon for the U.S.S.R. to study medicine, for her father, an influential man, had arranged everything, including a scholarship; and later enquires revealed that she did in fact go to Russia.

The aspirations of respondents who were constant to their original high ambitions, who adapted their high ambitions to the field of employment which they entered, and, to a lesser extent, of those who hoped to opt out of bureaucratic employment into such fields as business or politics, all illustrate the tendency for many respondents to retain a high level of aspirations, despite their initial setbacks; and, as suggested above, this may be an important factor in explaining the success of their personal adjustment to their positions in society, and even the political stability of the society as a whole. Having noted this tendency for them to retain such high aspirations, it is necessary to attempt to explain it; and, with this in mind, three particularly important factors should be noted.

Firstly, most respondents held a general belief in the possibility of social mobility through education; and this belief was in fact based on real possibilities for such mobility. As explained in Chapter 2, many high status individuals do in fact come from humble homes; and, as shown in this chapter, even those who have left school and started work may have a second chance to continue their education. Thus it was seen that many of the students at F.B.C. had worked for some time before going to university; and also that a number of the actual respondents had been able to continue with their education at some time after they were interviewed. No doubt most of the respondents could have also cited actual examples of this from among their own friends and relatives. Thus it appears that beliefs in opportunities for further education are indeed based on the real exis-

tance of such opportunities; but they are probably rarer than the respondents were willing to acknowledge; and undoubtedly many of the respondents overestimated their own chances of achieving such success.

Secondly, respondents' high levels of aspiration are also influenced by their perceptions of the nature of the relationship between education and occupation: in particular they believed that there is a close fit between educational and occupational achievement, or, in other words, that education is the key to occupational success. Many respondents attributed their own lack of educational progress not to any intellectual or academic deficiency on their part, which might have had a permanently retarding effect on their educational careers, but rather to financial difficulties which forced them to suspend their studies. But many of them still felt certain that if only they could obtain sufficient financial backing they would be able to successfully continue their education to the level they required to secure the types of occupation they wished. Again this assessment of the situation is not entirely realistic, though many of the respondents probably did have the ability to take their education further.

Finally, the high level of aspirations among respondents may be partly attributed to the high levels of reward accruing to the successful. In Sierra Leone, as previously explained, pay differentials are much higher than in most industrialised societies, with, for example, a new graduate earning between three and five times the salary of a secondary school leaver; and there

is little overlap in the pay scales of the various educational and occupational categories. There is thus a high degree of motivation among secondary school leavers to achieve educational, occupational and social mobility; and this contributes to the maintenance of their high aspirations. In such a situation, as explained in the last chapter, "privatization" is an unsatisfactory response, and workers will struggle to achieve the high levels of rewards available to those who are able to achieve upward mobility. The existence of these rewards for the successful stimulate and reinforce respondents' high occupational aspirations; and we are thus led to the interesting, and perhaps slightly surprising conclusion, that a high degree of inequality in the distribution of rewards coupled with the perception of a "reasonable"rate of social mobility may lead to a highly stable political system, resting on the striving for social mobility among its less privileged members, who might otherwise attempt to change the system through revolution. Such stability, however, resting as it does on beliefs in the possibility of social mobility, might be highly vulnerable if these beliefs were undermined.

The <u>compromisers</u> and <u>adapters</u> also illustrate the tendency for respondents' aspirations to be influenced by the course of their educational and occupational careers: at least at the post-school stage there is a tendency for aspirations to be determined by educational and occupational achievements rather than <u>vice versa</u>. Thus <u>compromisers</u>, though not originally particularly interested in the occupation which they enter, even-

tually decide to make their careers in these occupations; while adapters choose new aspirations within the field of the occupations which they actually obtain. Similar results have also been found among young workers in Britain. As Roberts points out:

> "When the evidence on the interaction between the ambitions and the occupational behaviour of young people in Britain is carefully examined, the typical pattern of interaction seems not to be for jobs to be entered on the basis of ambitions, but for ambitions to be adapted to the occupations that young people find themselves able to enter" (Roberts, 1974, p. 147).

Higher education may have a similar narrowing effect on occupational ambitions. Thus students at Fourah Bay College appeared to have a very limited range of occupational aspirations, 55% (338/614) hoping to become teachers, 23% (142/614) to become administrators, and 19% (116/614) to become professionals. It may be noted that teaching and administration are of much greater importance relative to the professions among students than among respondents in the survey of secondary school leavers. Of course this is partly due to the fact that students interested in such occupations will be particularly attracted by the kind of training given at F.B.C.; but it also seems likely that students originally interested in other types of occupation had now turned to teaching and administration, recognising that most opportunities for graduates from F.B.C. were in these fields. This would be another example of aspirations being determined by experience.

It is probably to such behaviour that Little refers when he writes of the African worker as "opportunistic" (Little, 1974, pp. 29-33); and indeed there is some truth in this assertion.

It was noted, for example, that despite their originally high ambitions, most respondents were willing to enter low status occupations, particularly to make money; and to remain in such occupation, despite their lack of commitment to them. Many respondents appeared quite willing to move into any higher status occupation, or to volunteer for any type of training, as a way out of their present low status positions; and, as has just been seen, some adapted their occupational aspirations to take advantage of their educational and occupational experience. Such occupational opportunism among workers in West African societies may be explained in terms of the stage of development of those societies: in particular, the so-called opportunism may result from the high pay differentials, and beliefs in opportunities for social mobility through education which have already been mentioned, for these result in a high motivation among workers to achieve success by any possible means. The results of Foster's research suggest that as Western occupations have been relatively recently introduced in most of West Africa, they do not yet carry a heavy burden of cultural evaluation, but are evaluated mainly in terms of the financial rewards they offer (Foster, 1965, pp. 272-273). In other words, occupations are seen mainly as means to ends - usually making money - rather than ends in themselves; and the workers are willing to opportunistically change jobs if this offers them any material advantage. So once again the West African situation appears more like that of the United States, where ends are more emphasised than means to those ends, than like the older societies

of Europe where the means of achieving these ends are also culturally evaluated.[1]

Use of such terms as "opportunism" may be rather misleading, however, especially at the lower levels of the occupational hierarchy. In "choosing" clerical and teaching occupations, despite the fact that these are at variance with their original aspirations, secondary school leavers are not being opportunistic as much as realistic: such jobs are the only ones available for them, and, as explained in the last chapter, they choose them in only a very limited sense of the word. Rather they are channelled into them, and this should not be interpreted as opportunism. While it is true that respondents who change their aspirations to suit their present situations are to some extent opportunistic, such reaction to experience is quite natural; and we should also remember those respondents who, despite their initial setbacks, remained constant to their first aspirations. The reaction of African workers is probably not as different from their counterparts in industrialized societies as Little appears to imply: we should remember Gluckman's warning that,"An African townsman is a townsman, an African miner is a miner" (Gluckman, 1961, p. 69). It might also be wise to avoid the term "opportunistic", for it appears to carry an unfortunate value judgement, though it is unlikely that Little meant this.

Finally, it is necessary to mention briefly the second main conclusion of this chapter, concerning the relationship bet-

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1 See Merton (1957).

ween the evaluation of occupations and occupational aspirations. It appeared that respondents' evaluations of occupations corresponded quite closely with their occupational aspirations; and it therefore seems reasonable to conclude that the latter were based on the former. In other words, many respondents aspired to the occupations which they considered to be the best in society, which illustrates their remarkable beliefs in the possibilities for social mobility. And it is perhaps even more remarkable that such beliefs in opportunities for scaling the highest rungs of the educational and occupational ladder appeared to be held by respondents irrespective of their social backgrounds. Even respondents from the humblest homes believed that they had a chance of reaching the top.

But although many respondents set their sights on the most highly evaluated positions in society, this was not true of all respondents; and two exceptions to this may be particularly noted. Firstly, although females appeared to evaluate occupations in a basically similar way to males, they did not themselves aim for the top, but rather for middle grade positions which they considered to be suitable for women, such as teaching, secretarial work, and so on. Secondly, there was some slight evidence that respondents' later ambitions were less likely to be determined by their absolute evaluation of occupations than their earlier ambitions. While at school they could still hope to reach those occupational positions which they considered to be the most desirable in Sierra Leone, but after a few years in employment such ambitions might seem less realistic. There

was some tendency to replace earlier ambitions based on the absolute evaluation of occupations with more modest ones, based on the respondents' current educational and occupational positions; and in particular the emergence of a desire among many respondents to start their own businesses was taken as evidence of such a change. However, what is more remarkable is that a high proportion of respondents retained their original high levels of aspiration, the reasons for which have been discussed above.

Having seen that the aspirations of many respondents are based on their evaluations of occupations in an absolute sense, it is necessary to push the analysis back one stage further, and attempt to discover the basis of respondents' evaluation of occupations. Examination of the characteristics of the occupations evaluated most highly by respondents in the light of what is known objectively about the occupational structure and the respondents' own comments on the reasons for their occupational choices suggests that financial factors are paramount in the evaluation of occupations. Not only did respondents tend to select as the "best jobs" those which were most highly paid, but they also often said that no job could be the worst in Sierra Leone as long as it allowed a person to earn his living. Thus respondents appeared to have a largely instrumental orientation to employment - they evaluated jobs in terms of how much money they paid - and to that extent they could be described as "opportunistic".

On the whole the status of occupations appeared closely correlated with their financial rewards, though it was recognised that at least in the short run status could be an independent dim-

ension in the evaluation of occupations. It was suggested that in the long-run, however, the status of an occupation was likely to be dependent on its level of income; and this may account for the fact that no respondents selected divinity as among the "best occupations" in Sierra Leone.

Finally, it may be mentioned that the actual evaluation of occupations by the present method was very similar to that found by the more complicated ranking method used, for example, by Mitchell and Epstein (1959), Foster (1965) and Peil (1972), with the professions, and particularly medicine, coming out on top, and unskilled manual jobs coming out at the bottom. In fact the ranking of occupations appears very similar in Africa to what would be found in Western industrialized societies.

However, this should not be taken as necessarily indicating the evaluation of occupations in all sections of the community, for it is quite possible and even probable that there will be variations in this between different socio-economic groups. In most studies of the prestige ranking of occupations in Africa the method of research has tended to produce uniform results, suggesting a very similar pattern of ranking to that found in Europe or America. A list of mainly modern occupations has been presented to pupils at school. It is therefore not surprising that fairly uniform, "Westernised" results have been produced, with doctors, lawyers, school inspectors and university lecturers at the top, and labourers and messengers at the bottom. The choice of respondents from the most naïvely Westernised section of the population and the actual interview situation within an

educational institution must have contributed to the highly "Westernised" ranking of occupations in such studies, although of course the ranking does also reflect the arrangements of these occupations in the occupational hierarchy.

Studies of occupational ranking by Butcher and Gamble in Sierra Leone have, however, produced much more varied results (Butcher, 1964; Gamble, 1966). They used a list of occupations containing a larger proportion of traditional occupations than in most other research, and also tested a cross-section of the community, including illiterates. The results indicated that "traditional" occupations, such as Imam, chief, landlord and even farmer still have considerable prestige, especially in the eyes of uneducated members of the community; and this supports Gamble's conclusion that the high prestige of modern occupations in most studies of occupational ranking in Africa results mainly from the narrow samples of school children used in such studies. (Gamble, 1966, p. 107). Thus in assessing the evaluation of occupations in the present study, allowance must be made for the fact that these are the evaluations of an educated section of the population of Sierra Leone; and the evaluation of occupations by illiterate members of the community may be rather different. Such variations in the evaluation of occupations between different sections of the population would appear to be an interesting area for future research. In the same way as there are variations in the evaluation of Western occupations by different sections of the population, so there may also be variations in the evaluation of Western education; and this is a topic which will be taken up again in the next chapter.